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Convention of Loyal Leagues 1863.

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FROM

*The Loyal National
League of New York*

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
CONVENTION OF LOYAL LEAGUES

HELD AT
MECHANICS HALL, UTICA,

TUESDAY, 26 MAY, 1863.

REPORTED FOR THE CONVENTION.



NEW YORK:
WM. C. BRYANT & CO., PRINTERS, 41 NASSAU ST., COR. LIBERTY.
1863.

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1863, July 8.
Jr of the Royal National League
Institute John Austin Stephens
N.Y. (Class of 1863)

Issued by the Royal National
League in the State of N.Y.

CALL OF THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE.

CONVENTION OF LOYAL LEAGUES.

THE Undersigned, in the name of the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, established in every County of the State of New York, and of other Loyal Leagues, respectfully invite Delegates from all similar organizations in the State to assemble in CONVENTION, at MECHANICS HALL, UTICA, on the morning of TUESDAY, THE 26TH MAY instant, at 11 o'clock, to perfect a State organization, and to consider plans for the furtherance of the objects stated in the following pledge:

We pledge ourselves to unconditional loyalty to the Government of the United States, to unwavering support of its efforts to suppress the Rebellion, and to spare no endeavor to maintain unimpaired the National Unity, both in principle and territorial boundary.

The primary object of this League is, and shall be, to bind together all Loyal Men, of all trades and professions, in a common Union, to maintain the power, glory, and integrity of the Union.

For their own part, and for the part of their associate Leagues, the undersigned distinctly state that the proceedings of the Convention shall be open and public, and no action shall be taken of a partisan character. The organizations thus far perfected have not been by political districts, but by local divisions, counties, and towns.

In making this call, the undersigned beg to remind the loyal men of the State of the powerful influence which such an organization may exert in support of the Government and to the encouragement of loyal sentiment.

The Anti-corn-law League in a few years revolutionized the public opinion of England, and attained the object for which it was established.

If such a result could be attained by an organization separate from party, on a question of political economy, what may not be expected of a Loyal National League, based on Loyalty to the Government of our Fathers, and a pledge to maintain unbroken the National Unity of this proud and prosperous country?

Each League is requested to send as many Delegates as convenient, and the Convention will decide on the mode of representation.

The Ward Leagues of New York and Kings County are invited to co-operate.

The Convention is expected to take part in the proceedings of the Mass Assemblage, on the 27th, called by the Loyal League of Union Citizens

LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUES.

NEW YORK, JAMES A. ROOSEVELT, Secretary.
 BROOKLYN, KINGS, E. B. SPOONER, Secretary.
 LIVINGSTON COUNTY, JAMES T. NORTON, Secretary.
 WYOMING COUNTY, W. H. MERRILL, Secretary.
 DUTCHESS COUNTY, CHARLES PLACE, Secretary.
 CLINTON COUNTY, GEORGE L. CLARK.
 THIRD ELECTION DISTRICT, SUFFOLK, R. ALBERTSON, Secretary.
 Utica, Oneida, J. B. CUSHMAN.
 Middletown, Orange, M. D. STIVERS, Secretary.
 Eastchester, Westchester, EDMUND HOOLE, Secretary.
 Nunda, Livingston, GEO. M. OSGOODBY, Secretary.
 Geddes, Onondaga, MEADE BELDEN, Secretary.
 Olean, Cattaraugus, R. L. PAGE, Secretary.
 Southold, Suffolk, WM. H. PIKE, Secretary.
 East Bloomfield, Ontario, R. C. STILES, Secretary.
 Rhinebeck, Dutchess, FRANK T. VAN KEUREN, Secretary.
 Corning, Steuben, HORACE BARNES, President.
 Bath, Steuben, C. H. THOMSON.
 Hornellsville, Steuben, HORACE BEMIS.
 Stony Brook, EDWARD OAKES, Secretary.
 Owego, Tioga, T. G. STAGG, Secretary.
 Mexico, Oswego, A. F. KELLOGG, Secretary.
 Norwich, Chenango, GEORGE C. RICE, Secretary.
 Suspension Bridge, Niagara, W. H. WALLACE, Secretary.
 Dansville, Livingston, I. B. MOREY, Secretary.
 Springwater, Livingston, JOHN WILEY, Secretary.
 West Sparta, Livingston, OGDEN MARSH, Secretary.
 Watertown, Jefferson, B. BROCKWAY.
 Albany, Albany, B. MILLARD, Secretary.
 Elmira, Chemung, JAMES T. DUDLEY, Secretary.

Brutus, Cayuga, E. B. LATIMER, Secretary.
 Montour, Schuyler, O. M. CLAUHARTY, Secretary.
 Marion, Wayne, S. B. DEAN, Secretary.
 Hamilton, Madison, E. D. VAN SLYCK, Secretary.
 Hannibal, Oswego, W. W. SCRIBNER, Secretary.
 Cortland, Cortland, F. D. WRIGHT, Secretary.
 Alfred Centre, Allegany, A. C. SPICER, Secretary.
 Danby, Tompkins, THOS. J. PHILLIPS, Secretary.
 Ridgeway, Orleans, GEO. L. PRATT, Secretary.
 Rose, Wayne, T. ROBINSON, Secretary.
 Sodus, Wayne, C. D. GAYLORD, Secretary.
 Elbridge, Onondaga, J. O. WRIGHT, Secretary.
 Boston, Erie, B. A. CHURCHILL, Secretary.
 Coram, Suffolk, R. W. SMITH, Secretary.
 Big Flats, Chemung, J. E. FARR, Secretary.
 Newburgh, Orange, J. HALLOCK DRAKE, Secretary.
 Catharine, Schuyler, THOMAS COUCH, Secretary.
 Mount Morris, Livingston, J. A. MEAD, Secretary.
 Yonkers, Westchester, FRANCIS N. BANGS, Secretary.
 Ellicottville, Cattaraugus, D. H. BOLLES, Secretary.
 Ithaca, Tompkins, AUSTIN N. HUNGERFORD, Secretary.
 Haverstraw, Rockland, SPENCER J. WEIANT, Secretary.
 New Rochelle, Westchester, CHARLES H. ROOSEVELT, President.
 Troy, Rensselaer, BRUCE MILLARD, Secretary.
 Goshen, Orange, DAVID D. OSMAN, Secretary.
 Portage, Livingston, CHARLES K. RANDALL, Secretary.
 Morris, Otsego, SILAS S. SEELY, Secretary.
 Nyack, Rockland, D. J. BLAUVELT, Secretary.
 Irvington, Westchester, J. J. BANTA, Secretary.
 Sandusky, Cattaraugus, R. M. JAMESON, Secretary.
 Pitcher, Chenango, W. R. CHANDLER, Secretary.
 Verona, Oneida, HARVEY S. BEDELL, Secretary.

Sons of Washington Union League, Rochester, Monroe, JOHN C. CHUMASERO,
 President.

Loyal League of Delhi, Delaware, NORWOOD BOWNE, Secretary.
 Union League of Broome County, W. W. ELLIOTT, Secretary.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION.

MORNING SESSION.—TEMPORARY ORGANIZATION.

The main body of Mechanics Hall was nearly filled at the appointed hour on the morning of Tuesday, 26th May, with delegates and prominent men from various sections of the State, constituting as intelligent and earnest an assemblage as ever gathered in Convention in the Empire State. The Hall was appropriately and handsomely decorated with the Stars and Stripes, and mottoed banners brought in by the representatives of the Loyal Leagues. Over the center of the platform hung gracefully the starry folds, and above, the motto: "Sustain our brave soldiers." On the left: "A common union to maintain the power, glory, and integrity of the Nation." On the right was represented the American eagle on a shield, beaking a wriggling Copperhead. Suspended from the center of the dome was a prism of banners—one inscribed with the latter of the above mottoes. The second had: "No fire in the rear." The third, three sentiments, as follows: "No compromise with traitors"—"No neutrals in the war"—"The flag of our union shall float over Sumter." Other mottoes, in addition to repetitions of those we have mentioned, were these: "Pledged to unconditional loyalty"—"One flag, one country, one destiny." "Pledged to maintain the national unity."

Previous to the commencement of business Major SCHOLEFIELD introduced the "Drummer Boy of the Rappahannock," with a reference to the familiar history of his brave conduct at the first battle of Fredericksburgh. The boy, Robert Henry Hendershot, was requested to come forward and favor the assemblage

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factions? He who refers to the past finds guidance for the future; and he cannot have rightly interpreted the lessons of the past who claims that party should be the banner-cry of freedom in the prosecution of a war for the defence of great political and national truths. Why, the party man is no more competent to the occasion which is now upon us than the child is competent to sustain the armor of the man. They who are enthralled by such trammels, they who are entrenched behind such arguments, are but as the partisan who, in his pursuit of emolument, plunder, and gain, looks to the organization and machinery of party for personal advantages, though it leads the country into ruin. [Applause.] Let party, therefore, disappear, let its traces be effaced, and let us, as true, loyal men, with the interests of our country at heart—let each one of us here go to the work set before us of organizing loyalty, and disciplining patriotism, fulminating their reason and arguments, with the force of lightning from Heaven, over this broad land, stamping with derision and contempt the miserable and paltry servitude of party and party-men. [Applause.] Nor are we here simply, gentlemen, to exhume arguments to show that this war is a work of subjugation. It is a work of defense. We of the North are not the aggressors. We stand in defense of the Constitution and our institutions. Nor can it in any degree be considered a war for the continuance or for the extirpation of slavery. Our purpose is merely and purely the suppression of this rebellion. [Applause.] “Ah! but,” I am answered by a certain objector, “you intend to subjugate the South; how else can our army prove successful? You intend not to extirpate slavery; how else can you end this war?” My answer to these propositions simply is: We shall accomplish all when we shall have saved our country. [Prolonged applause.] And let me ask, when this rebellion shall have been repressed, where then, think you, will stand the proud armies that have occupied the battle-field? In a sense there must be subjugation. Without subjugation and destruction of opposition, there can be no triumph, no victory. With reference to what moral philosophers and social humanitarians may consider, in this wise or in that wise, I have but to say: After the success of our armies and the restoration of the

Union, "Let the dead bury the dead." As the car of Northern freedom, gentlemen, makes its way over this continent, all obstacles must disappear before it. [Applause.] We protest against the disintegration of freedom. We oppose the advances and encroachments of tyranny, in whatever form it presents itself. [Applause.] We stand here as the custodians and advocates and champions of a great Christian civilization; [applause,] and we swear before high Heaven that with that charge in care we will never, never prove false to the trust. [Applause.] That civilization consists merely in the perpetuity of our institutions; in the integrity of our Constitution, which has so long subserved the great interests of the human race upon this continent. It consists in the gradual expansion and dilation of every principle which is impressed upon its immortal pages. Whether that shall be accomplished by the success of a portion of our army on this battle-field, or whether it shall be temporarily arrested by reverses upon that, I tell you that the great wave still advances; and the not distant future will see all these smiling plains and rolling hills covered with a population that shall show the sternness, the integrity, and the progress of our Northern institutions. [Applause.] Fear not, therefore, for any incidental purpose. We are to be diverted by no collateral issue, but we are to have our eyes firmly fixed upon a single object, and that object the rescue of our country and the restoration of our Union, and then we will march forward without clamor or discussion, bravely to teach the world that we, as descendants of worthy ancestors, will do no discredit to the fathers of '76. [Applause.] The liberty which was theirs for their achievements, shall by our faithfulness be perpetuated. The principles which moved them shall and do sustain us. There will be dissensions. There will be divisions and strife—there must be, while human nature remains as it is—but as long as the immutable principles of right prevail, so long shall the influence of that flag of the Republic wrap the world around as a physical atmosphere, and compel men to inhale it at every breath. So we are for no destructive parties, but for conservatism; and if the war to-morrow could cease by the restoration of our Union, our suffrage would be for peace. It is therefore, gentlemen, clear and distinct that the people of this land, without

distinction of party, are united hand in hand in this contest for the restoration of the Union, and for the preservation of its constitution and territorial integrity. So, gentlemen, I am glad to meet you here this day. I shall take my seat among you with pleasure, and with a grateful heart, that it has been permitted me to participate in councils so important and momentous. I can fancy here indications of no circumscribed restrictions. I can conceive that there shall be nothing here which shall be directed toward individual aggrandizement or sectional aims. With a Democrat merely attached to his former party, and as such in hostility to the salvation or interests of his country, I would not take my seat here. [Applause.] With a Republican, adhering to his former taste, habits, and associations merely, I would not take my seat here. [Applause.] I would equally refuse and reject association and propinquity with the Abolitionist, who seeks now only to strike for the gratification of his peculiar tastes. We know no Abolitionist, no Republican, no Democrat, [applause,] and no party lines; and that exclamation of the patriotic and lamented Clay, in my judgment, best illustrates our spirit: "We know no North, no South, no East, no West." [Applause.] Let that be your advancing cry. Let that, gentlemen, animate us and prevail over this broad land, that we may use all our efforts to redeem it from the aggressions of rebels. Let us act in conjunction with all—with those alike who are born and bred upon the soil, and those who, forsaking their own land, have chosen this as the asylum of their liberty, and the method and manner by which, and through which, to redress their wrongs. [Applause.] You will now, gentlemen, have nominated to you the remainder of the temporary officers of the meeting, which, having been accepted at your hands, we shall proceed to the regular business of the Convention.

On motion of JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr., James Terwillager, of Onondaga, and E. N. Crosby, of Dutchess, were chosen temporary Secretaries.

After several motions for the appointment of committees had been made and withdrawn, the Chair, at the suggestion of Mr. J. A. Millard, requested the secretaries to call the roll of counties, in order that the credentials of delegates might be presented.

This was accordingly done, and the Chair announced that nearly every county in the State had sent delegates, and that consequently the whole State was represented. [Applause.]

Mr. J. A. MILLARD, of Rensselaer, moved the appointment of a committee upon credentials and basis of representation. He did not suppose that there would be any contest upon the question of delegates to this body, but there might be some upon the question of representation. He therefore moved that a committee on credentials and ratio of representation, be appointed.

The following committee was selected :

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

- 1st. John Austin Stevens, Jr., of New York.
- 2d. Benson J. Lossing, of Poughkeepsie.
- 3d. John A. Millard, of Rensselaer.
- 4th. R. M. Little, of Warren.
- 5th. Beman Brockway, of Jefferson.
- 6th. John J. Rathbun, of Chemung.
- 7th. Isaac L. Endress, of Livingston.
- 8th. J. N. Larned, of Erie.

ROBERT B. ROOSEVELT, of New York, moved that a committee of two from each judicial district, be appointed by the Chair, to report officers for the permanent organization of the Convention. Agreed to, and the following gentlemen were appointed :

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

- 1st. Robert B. Roosevelt and Sinclair Tousey, of New York.
- 2d. G. C. Burnap, Dutchess; Charles H. Roosevelt, Westchester.
- 3d. B. Millard, Albany; W. J. Groo, Sullivan.
- 4th. James M. Dudley, Fulton; George Robinson, St. Lawrence.
- 5th. Frank Hiscock, Onondaga; A. H. Laffin, Herkimer.
- 6th. J. H. Selkreg, Tompkins; Cornelius A. Church, Otsego.

7th. Thomas Robinson, Wayne ; George W. Rawson, Monroe.

8th. E. G. Spaulding, Erie ; John Van Horn, Niagara.

On motion of Mr. JOHN A. MILLARD, Renselaer, the following committee on resolutions, and an address, was appointed :

COMMITTEE ON ADDRESS AND RESOLUTIONS.

First District—John Jay, R. B. Roosevelt, New York.

Second District—George Wilkinson, Dutchess ; Alexander Davidson, Rockland.

Third District—Thomas B. Carroll, Rensselaer ; Joel Tiffany, Albany.

Fourth District—John F. Havens, St. Lawrence ; Waldo M. Potter, Saratoga.

Fifth District—Hon. Roscoe Conkling, Oneida ; Hon. James A. Bell, Jefferson.

Sixth District—Alvin Lawrence, Schuyler ; Peter B. Rathbone, Chenango.

Seventh District—Hon. W. H. Kelsey, Livingston ; Charles A. Thomson, Steuben.

Eighth District—Harry Wilbur, Genesee ; Dan. H. Cole, Orleans.

On motion of Mr. JOHN A. MILLARD, of Renselaer, the rules of the Assembly, so far as they could apply, were adopted as the rules of this Convention.

On motion of Hon. ROSCOE CONKLING, the Convention took a recess until 2 P. M.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

The chair announced, at the opening of the session, at half past two, that all the counties in the State were represented, except Essex and Washington. [Applause.]

Mr. J. A. Millard, from the committee on credentials, reported that there were no contested seats. [Applause.] He

was equally gratified to report that there was no question of regularity. Therefore, upon those two questions he reported, that all the delegates presenting credentials should be admitted to seats in this Convention. [Applause.] The committee had also taken into consideration the question of representation, and would report that the delegates to this Convention have an equal representation, and every one should be permitted to vote, *per capita*. One source of difficulty the committee had had, which it was completely impossible to surmount, and that was, the preparation of the list of delegates. It was utterly impossible to arrange the two thousand names of delegates unless the Convention adjourned until night. They reported therefore all the names, and suggested that the secretaries should make out the list at their leisure. He, therefore, moved that the secretaries be directed to make out a list for publication in the city papers.

After some discussion as to whether the papers would publish so long a list, the report was adopted with an amendment that the loyal papers be requested to publish the list of delegates.

The discussion as to the best means of procuring a list of delegates present was then renewed, and participated in by Ira D. Brown, of Oswego, Mr. Brockway, of Jefferson, and others.

IRA D. BROWN, of Oswego, moved that the roll of delegates be called by counties, and their names recorded by the secretaries, but, after discussion, withdrew his resolution.

MR. BROCKWAY moved for the appointment of a committee of three to report a digest of the names of delegates present, for publication in the morning papers.

MR. BROCKWAY's motion was adopted, and Messrs. Wilder, of New York, Hicks, of Livingston, and Brockway, of Jefferson, were appointed as such committee.*

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

ROBT. B. ROOSEVELT, Esq., of New York, reported from the Committee on Permanent Organization, nominating Gen. John Cochrane as permanent chairman, and the nomination was

*The List of Delegates compiled by the Committee may be found at the close of the Report—folio 61.

adopted with applause. He also reported the list of Vice-Presidents and Secretaries, which was unanimously adopted.

Hon. ROSCOE CONKLING requested the appointment of Edward Huntington, of Rome, on the list of Vice-Presidents. The request was granted.

PERMANENT ORGANIZATION :

President—Gen. JOHN COCHRANE.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Hon. Chas. H. Ruggles, Benson J. Lossing, Dutchess; Hon. Hiram Denio, Hon. Edward Huntington, Oneida; Chas. Mason, Madison; Thomas G. Alvord, Onondaga; J. C. Churchill, Oswego; Hon. E. M. Madden, Orange; Hon. Henry Sherwood, Steuben; Frederick Prime, of Westchester; John A. Stevens, Jr., George P. Putnam, John W. Thorne, New York; Geo. W. Ernst, Otsego; Jacob I. Werner, Albany; Hon. E. G. Spaulding, Erie; Hon. John Wiley, Livingston; Hon. A. B. James, St. Lawrence; Hon. Nathan Lapham, Clinton; Martin I. Townsend, Rensselaer; S. S. Morgan, Chenango; Hon. Hiram Gardner, Niagara; Harry Wilbur, Genesee; Louis Berthoud, Rev. John Nott, Montgomery; Hon. J. B. Williams, Tompkins.

SECRETARIES.

R. U. Sherman, Oneida; L. Vanderkar, Albany.

DISTRICT SECRETARIES.

1st District.—Norman Stratton, Theodore G. Glaubenslee, New York.

2d.—Silas B. Martin, Orange; C. A. Van Valkenberg, Dutchess; Geo. A. Brandreth, Westchester.

2d.—Edward Cary, Albany; P. Cantine, Ulster.

4th.—Mortimer Wade, Fulton; J. Van Slyck, St. Lawrence.

5th.—J. C. Duff, Lewis; B. Brockway, Jefferson.

6th.—John T. Mygatt, Broome; Francis B. Fisher, Chenango.

7th.—Clark D. Tracy, Monroe; Alex. Olcott, Steuben.

8th.—Dan. H. Cole, Orleans; Frederick Eaton, Catta-raugus.

THE CHAIRMAN'S ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

The Permanent Organization being thus completed, General Cochrane said :

Gentlemen,—I can do no more than return to you very sincerely my cordial thanks for this honor, and pledge myself to do my whole duty as your presiding officer. As an earnest of it I will proceed at once to business.

Mr. J. M. THOMPSON, of New York, moved the following :

Resolved, That a State Executive Committee be appointed to consist of two from each judicial district, and that the delegates from each judicial district select them subject to the endorsement of the Convention.

Mr. R. B. ROOSEVELT, of New York, suggested that the Executive Committee consist of three members from each district instead of two.

Mr. THOMPSON accepted the amendment.

Mr. JOHN VAN VOORHEES, Jr., of Monroe, said : I understand the object of this Convention to be to harmonize the various Leagues now in existence in this State, and put them all in communication with each other. With that view, Mr. Chairman, I think that before appointing an Executive Committee, we ought to get at some basis upon which we can all stand, and have some common method of going to work, and make this union of Leagues perfect. What that method shall be, is for the Convention to determine. I will move you, sir, for the sake of bringing the question before the House, as a substitute for the resolution offered, the following :

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to consist of two from each judicial district in the State, the members of that committee to be appointed by the several delegates, whose duty it shall be to report to this Convention what action it ought to take to unite the various Leagues in the State, and embrace them all under one common head.

Mr. J. A. MILLARD suggested that the matter had better go to this committee appointed to consider and report upon that very subject.

Hon. THOS. G. ALVORD, of Onondaga, hoped the business of the committee would be confined strictly to reporting a form of organization, and that no attempt would be made to force upon the Convention an Executive Committee to whose acts and policy the Convention would be committed. He proposed that the resolution of Mr. Voorhees should be referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. J. M. THOMPSON, of New York, explained that by the mode of appointing the Executive Committee, provided for in his resolution, the people of the State would be thoroughly represented in the Executive Committee, as the mode of appointing it was thoroughly popular.

Mr. J. A. MILLARD: I think I was suffering under a misapprehension when I first spoke on this question, as to who was empowered to make this committee. I am informed that it is intended that each judicial district is to send two names to form part of that committee, whose duty it shall be to report a State organization, or what organization can be adopted; that being so, there can be no objection.

Mr. SINCLAIR TOUSEY, of New York: I rise, sir, to a point of order—that this matter is out of order at present, for the reason that you have just appointed a committee whose business it is to make a digest of the list of delegates, and report who is entitled to vote; you cannot properly and fairly take any action until you know who are the delegates entitled to vote.

The Chair overruled the point of order, on the ground that the Convention had decided to proceed to business, leaving the committee to go on with the digest.

Mr. ALVORD, of Onondaga: There must be some conflict of opinion here in regard to this matter. I now understand that the committee is to report to this Convention and that its duties do not extend beyond the Convention. If the Convention sees fit to divide the responsibility of the Committee on Resolutions and make up a special committee for this purpose, I have no objection whatever. What I do object to earnestly, sincerely, ardently, is the appointment at this time of an EXECUTIVE

COMMITTEE, who may operate in the future in reference to any matter which may come up. I trust and hope, sir, that there is to be made up no political organization. [Applause.] We are not politicians; we stand by the country and the constitutional authorities in the hour of their peril. Let us therefore sink party, and sink it forever.

Mr. VAN VOORHEES: I mean by my amendment precisely what the gentleman advocates—that a committee of two be appointed from each judicial district, who shall report to this Convention what action it is best to take.

At the request of several delegates, the Chair stated the question as follows: The motion of the gentleman from New York (Mr. Thompson) is:

“That a State Executive Committee be appointed, to consist of three from each judicial district, and that the delegates from each district name them, subject to the endorsement of this Convention.”

For this, the gentleman from Munroe (Mr. Van Voorhees) offers the following substitute, upon which the question is about to be taken, namely:

“That a committee of two from each judicial district be appointed by the delegates of such district, to report to this Convention a plan for a state organization, if any.”

After some informal discussion, the substitute of Mr. Van Voorhees was adopted, and the Convention proceeded to select members of the Committee as provided for. The following gentlemen were selected:

COMMITTEE TO REPORT STATE ORGANIZATION.

1st District—Sinclair Tousey, J. M. Thomson, New York City.

2d District—J. C. Adams, Orange county; P. H. Lasher, Dutchess county.

3d District—J. A. Millard, Rensselaer county; Wm. J. Groo, Sullivan county.

4th District—Geo. L. Clark, Clinton county; Horace E. Smith, Fulton county.

5th District—Hon. Roscoe Conklin, Oneida county; J. C. Churchill, Oswego county.

6th District—John J. Hicks, Chemung county; Geo. L. Rouse, Madison county.

7th District—John Van Voorhees, Jr., Monroe county; Thomas Robinson, Wayne county.

8th District—Hon. M. Rice, Erie county; Hon. Seth Wakeman, Genesee county.

The committee then retired for consultation.

During the absence of the committees the Convention unanimously called for a speech from Gerritt Smith, who was finally prevailed upon to take the platform, and spoke as follows :

SPEECH OF GERRIT SMITH, OF MADISON.

This strikes me as a very mottled assemblage, politically considered, and in a certain point of view, morally considered also. Here we are, Democrats and Republicans, temperance men and anti-temperance men, some one thing and some another, and there are soldiers among us. I see soldiers [applause] who have returned from the battle-field wet with the sweat of war, and some of them with its blood. They have returned to receive our benedictions and to be the witnesses of our enduring and deep gratitude for their heroic defense of our bleeding country. [Applause.] Now, what is the object that has had the power to collect this heterogeneous assemblage? I answer, it is a common cause. This is the mighty loadstone that has been able to draw us together, in spite of our mutual differences, in spite of our different views and different character. There are persons so bigoted and so impracticable as not to consent to come into a common cause. I know Democrats who, not even to save their beloved country—I cannot say, however, how beloved to them—[laughter]—there are Democrats, I say, who, not even to save this dear country, will consent to vote any other than a Democratic ticket; and I know Republicans who will not consent to vote any other but a Republican ticket; and I know Abolitionists, and I am ashamed of them, [laughter,] and even Temperance men, who will not consent to work with any other than their own sort of people. But we, I thank God for it, are

not such. We, though differing from each other at many points, can, nevertheless, when the nation calls for it, consent to work together. Now, I ask, what is this common cause which has drawn us together? Just here give me your special attention. I ask again, what is this common cause? Is it to save the Constitution? Oh! it is inexpressibly more than that. There are many good, patriotic men, who don't wish the Constitution saved as it is; they wish to have it altered. I, for one, would not have one word of it altered; I have pleaded for it with lips and pen, more than any Democrat, living or dead. I would not have one word in it altered. [Applause.] Well, if this common cause is not to save the Constitution, is it to save the Union? Oh, no! unspeakably more than that. There are good men, and wise men, who do not like all the terms of our Union; I like them all. [Applause.] I have never taken in my life, with lips or pen, the slightest exception to any of them; and probably never shall. Well, is it, then, the saving of the country that is this common cause? It is not even that, for there are many good men who do not like the present boundaries of our country. They wish it to be made smaller. For my own part, every rood of it is dear to my heart. [Applause.] I would not have one star pass from the National flag. [Applause.] Not even poor South Carolina. [Applause and laughter.] I love even South Carolina. I love her for the memory of her noble men who stood by the side of our revolutionary fathers. I love her for another reason; I love her for what she will become again when she shall have come out of her present degeneracy and madness. Well, now, if this common cause which has drawn us together is not the saving of the Constitution, nor the saving of the Union, nor the saving of the country, pray what, then, is it? My answer will be—and it will leap up from all your hearts to your lips—it is the putting down of this accursed and causeless rebellion. [Applause.] That is the common cause that has drawn us together. And now, mark you, we all stand together at this point, where all good and just and patriotic men can and do stand with us. [Applause.] And then one thing more: that is the very point where unpatriotic and selfish men refuse to stand with us. The very point. And yet, some of these unpatriotic and self-seek-

ing men, and traitors among them, are very eager to assure us of their intense regard for the Union and Constitution and country. But when we turn upon them with the question, "Are you for putting down the rebellion?" they are found wanting. That is just the only test to apply to them, and under its application they fail. I recollect that more than thirty years ago, when Great Britain was agitated by the proposition to abolish British slavery, some Quakers supplied themselves with an image of a kneeling slave, and the appealing question running out of its mouth, "Am I not a man and a brother?" When the candidates for seats in Parliament would come around to these Quakers and solicit their votes, and tell them of the many fine things they would do if elected—things peculiarly acceptable to Quakers—these cunning Quakers would thrust in the face of these candidates this appealing image, and ask them, "Can you go that? If you can't go that, we can't go you." Just so do we deal with these men, when they prate about their love for the Constitution, the Union, and the country. I ask them, and you ask them, can you go for putting down the rebellion? If you can't go that, we can't go you. O, why should we go these vile hypocrites—for such they are—who talk about being for the Constitution and the Union and the country, and yet go not for putting down the rebellion, the putting down of which can alone save these blessings to us, and the triumph of which will rob us of them all? And now we have before us but one duty; our one work is the work of putting down the rebellion. You have got to come to this point. I don't allow myself to be a co-worker with any one on earth who does not come to this point. The putting down of this rebellion must be done, come what will to Constitution and Union, and even country. [Applause.] Can you go that? [Applause, and cries of "Yes, yes."] For I hold that our duty to Justice, in putting down this rebellion, is infinitely more commanding and absolute than any duty we owe to the Constitution or the Union, or even the boundaries of our country. I claim that we are to go for putting down the rebellion unconditionally. Can you go that? You are not to say, we will consent to put down the rebellion on condition of the saving of the Constitution, the saving of the Union, or the saving of the country. You are

to say, we go for putting down the rebellion unconditionally, and that is just where these traitorous enemies will not go along with us. [Applause.] What!—some one questions me—would you go for putting down this rebellion with all the possible risks that the Union, the Constitution, and the country might go down with it? I answer, I would. I answer, I make no calculation at all at that point. My only duty has been, from the first, the putting down of this rebellion. And here, some old Abolitionists, perhaps, would ask me, Do you go for putting down this rebellion at all possible hazards, that Slavery may survive and be stronger than ever? I do. I run that risk. [Applause.] I have no conditions to make in behalf of any of my hobbies, and have not had since the day the news reached me at Peterboro of the bombardment of Sumter. [Applause.] And now let me here say, that in my philosophy, the putting down of crime cannot bring any harm to any good, cannot bring any help to any evil. Hence the putting down of this rebellion, which is the crime of crimes, cannot bring any possible harm to any good, in the Constitution, in the Union, or in the country, or in Freedom—none whatever. I call it the crime of crimes. Earth has never known a greater crime than this attempt to destroy a nation which had never done any thing to provoke that attempt—a nation which had always been not only just, but exceedingly partial, to those guilty of this piratical and murderous attempt. [Applause.] And now let me here say, that to make ourselves most effective in this work, we ought to cultivate earnestness. Oh! what an immense advantage the South has had over us in that respect! If all our early Generals—I beg your pardon, Mr. President, I didn't include yourself—[laughter]—you are too nearly kindred to me that I should do that—I say if our early Generals had had but a tithe of the earnestness that characterizes the South and Southern Generals, we should not have needed to be meeting here; the rebellion would long ago have been ended. And there is one thing more we need to cultivate, and that is resentment. Can you go that? [“Yes, sir,” and applause.] I know there is a sentimental, namby-pamby religion, which takes fright at the idea of cultivating resentment. We need more resentment to fight the rebels as we ought to fight them. That has been our want all

the way through. I recall a conversation with that great and good man, THEODORE PARKER, which I had a few years before his death—a conversation on the elements in human character. He claimed great credit for our power of hearty hating. That's like him; and were he now alive, you might be sure of having at least one hearty hater of the rebellion. He would exclaim with the Psalmist, "Do not I hate them, O Lord! that hate thee? I hate them with a perfect hatred." Perhaps some one would remind me of the prayer, "Father, forgive them, they know not what they do." Now, I hold that this resentment is entirely compatible with the highest civilization and purest Christianity, and entirely consistent with forgiveness; but, moreover, these rascals *do* know what they do. [Great laughter and applause.] Our Saviour had none such in his eye when he prayed. [Applause.] They know what they do, and they do it with a hatred and with a will that puts to shame our indecision and gentleness. I say, we must go unconditionally for putting down the rebellion. And let me add, our loyalty is to be unconditional. We have tried our Government and we can trust it. [Applause.] I do not say that we are bound to agree with it in all its views of tariffs and other things; I do not say that we are bound to approve all its war measures even. It is entitled to our loyalty, because it has abundantly proved itself to be honestly and earnestly intent on putting down the rebellion. I observed this forenoon a skittishness on one point—at the point of politics. A word on that. I have observed, I meant to say, that some persons are afraid that this grand Loyal League, into which I would have all right men of the North, South, East, and West enter, will become a party machine. Now, I would have this grand Loyal League a mighty power in politics. That's my view of it. [Applause.] I would have it work day and night to keep out of political office every man who is not unconditionally against the rebellion. I do not say to keep out of office Democrats or Republicans, but every man who does not stand by the Government, who is not unconditionally for the Government. I have never in my life voted a Republican ticket; for I am, as I think, a Democrat of Democrats. Not a sham, spurious Democrat; but a man going for the equal rights of all men. [Applause.] If any man here can say, "I am a Democrat," I answer

in Paul's words—"I, more." Our great work is before us. It is not to save the Union, or the Constitution, or the country; that is all prating. I do not want to hear a man speak about his love for his country, but rather about his hatred of the rebels. I will infer his love for his country from his hatred of the rebels. Put down the rebellion, and the Union, and the Constitution, and the country will take care of themselves. If a murderer should be discovered in Utica, the concern is to be, not for the safety of Utica, but to arrest and punish the murderer. Arrest and punish him, and Utica will take care of herself. Nor do I want you to talk about what shall be done after the rebellion is put down. The rebellion is not put down yet, and we never shall put it down if we allow ourselves to be diverted from the actual and urgent duties of the present to speculations in regard to the future. The only problem, Mr. President, that we can solve to-day, is putting down the rebellion. I would postpone every other thought to that solution. Let me add, "sufficient to the day is the evil thereof." We must grudge nothing; we must grudge no help, no precious treasure, no precious lives. Neither treasure nor life would be worth anything to us, or any right-minded man, if this rebellion were triumphant. If we should fail, we shall need no property to live on, for then we shall be sinking under loads of infamy and anguish of heart, and shall desire to live no longer. (Applause.)

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS AND ADDRESS—DEBATE ON
THE RESOLUTIONS.

The Committee on Resolutions being ready to report, Mr. JOHN JAY proceeded to read on their behalf the series that had been agreed upon. (See below.)

Mr. ALVORD, of Onondaga, hoped that the resolutions would not be passed without reflection and discussion. They should be acted upon separately. He endorsed the sentiments of Mr. Smith, of Madison, and hoped the expression of the Convention would be confined to the questions of paramount and vital importance. Its business was to stand by the Government in its efforts to put down the rebellion. It would be time enough

when the rebellion was crushed and we were again at peace, to consider the other questions comprehended in the resolutions. When the Convention had done what it could towards putting down the rebellion, it would have done its duty. He, therefore, thought that the two first and the last resolutions reported were sufficient.

The decision of the question being called for, the CHAIR took the question on the first four resolutions, which were adopted as follows, unanimously :

1. Whereas, the strife of political parties is essential to the due working of Republican government, so long as their continuance is compatible with the safety, prosperity, and progress of the people ; but in all times of national peril, or of menace to popular institutions, when a common danger demands union for defense, party organization falls within the denunciation of Washington, as the bane of freedom, therefore,

Resolved, That at the present juncture, when the nation is engaged in a struggle for its integrity and life, it is the duty of all loyal men, without regard to personal preferences, previous party organizations, or minor issues of whatever character, to unite on a broad and simple platform to maintain the Republic. (*Adopted unanimously.*)

2. *Resolved*, That this Convention recommend the establishment of Loyal National Leagues throughout the country, on the same pledge with the single aim of securing a national support to the National Government, and with the view of their continuance, only until the suppression of the Rebellion and the restoration of the integrity and harmony of the Republic.— (*Adopted unanimously.*)

3. That the attempt of the Southern Confederates to destroy the nation, is one which the American people are bound to resist, not simply for the preservation of their national honor and their common interests, but for the reason that the success of the Confederates would be felt throughout the world as the death-blow of Republican institutions, and the overthrow of that democratic principle which recognizes political power as proceeding from the consent of the people, and establishing on American soil the aristocratic principle that holds the rights of the many subservient to the privileges of the few. (*Adopted unanimously.*)*

4. *Resolved*, That in our opinion, when this war, prosecuted to prevent the establishment of a government at the South, incompatible with and hostile to the National Government, shall have accomplished its object, by the suppression of the rebellion and the frustration of its objects, we will gladly accept peace in the restoration of the National Government in its constitutional and territorial integrity. (*Adopted unanimously.*)

The fifth resolution, reported by the Committee, was caused to be read several times, and was as follows :

5. *Resolved*, That while we recognize in the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of the National Government, acting within their respective spheres, the only authority which can rightfully and successfully wield the resources and will of the nation in the maintenance of its authority at home and abroad, we also recognize the existence of powers in the Government incident to a state of war, which powers necessarily inhere in the government of every nation in virtue of national sovereignty, and they may be called into exercise by those intrusted with the National Administration, whenever necessary, for the preservation of the National existence ;—and that whenever a just military necessity, or the exigencies of the country pending the war, shall compel an abridgement of freedom of speech, or of the Press, or a suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, the greatest care should be exercised least a dangerous precedent be established, that may induce or justify in future times the violation of rights the most dearly prized by the American people. (*Recommitted after debate. See page 35.*)

Mr. ALVORD, of Onondaga, objected to this resolution as an admission that the Government had violated the laws of the country, or a principle of the Constitution. He thoroughly justified the Administration in all its acts, and said that if it had any fault, it was because it had not been stern and unyielding enough. [Applause.] He moved that the resolution lay upon table, but withdraw the motion to enable others to speak.

Mr. GERRITT SMITH, of Madison, said : It occurs to me that the resolution speaks quite briefly upon this subject of peculiar importance just at the present time. I should like to have the resolution laid upon the table, to the end that, at our evening session, a resolution may be brought forward speaking out

more fully on the subject, more argumentatively, more emphatically.

A delegate suggested that from the stand-point of a Republican, he agreed with the view taken by the Democrat from Onondaga. He had a resolution which he wished to offer as an amendment, but the chair declared it out of order.

Mr. MANSFIELD, of Rockland, said that he was heartily opposed to laying the resolution on the table if the matter was to rest there. This was a Convention of the Loyal Leagues of New York. Their duty was not in the field; they were not enlisted soldiers, and could not fight directly on the battle-field for the cause of their country. But their duty was expressed in one of the mottoes on the banner in the hall, "Sustain our brave soldiers in the field." It had been said that that which disheartened the soldiers most was "the fire in the rear," and the very thing they were there to do was to take care of that "fire in the rear." He believed that this prating and copperheadism was what discouraged our soldiers most, and that was the very thing they had to contend against. He understood that the duty of the Loyal Leagues was to sustain the efforts of the soldiers in the field, by opposing all those who tend to neutralize their efforts at home. Now that the Government had undertaken to put its hands upon these men, it was the greatest question which they had to settle, whether they would sustain the Government. They all knew that the most clamorous accusations against the Government had been that of "invading the liberty of the citizen." It had been said that because the offenders arrested were not rebels in the field, that their right of free speech had been invaded. He thought it proper that the Convention should express its opinion upon this subject; that they did not believe the Government had invaded the rights of the citizens. If they recognized the fact, that the whole country was in a state of war, then these measures that had been taken by the Government were right and justifiable. It seemed to him necessary that they should make some expression of opinion, that if they touched this question. If they resolved merely that they were loyal, what would they have said more than a copperhead convention might have said? The copperheads always prated about loyalty. It was their duty to recognize that the Government had this power of putting its

hand upon these men, if necessary, for the public safety. The Constitution gave that right. It seemed to him that the last part of the resolution was unnecessary—that part cautioning the Government in regard to the exercise of its duty. He thought it was liable to be misunderstood. He thought it would be taken up by many persons as an implied censure upon the Administration.

MR. JOEL TIFFANY, of Albany, said: The resolution divides itself into two parts. The first part is the following:

Resolved, That while we recognize in the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of the National Government, acting within their respective spheres, the only authority which can rightfully and successfully wield the resources and will of the nation in the maintenance of its authority at home and abroad, we also recognize the existence of powers in the Government incident to a state of war.

Do you see anything in that part of the resolution denying the power of the Government to arrest a traitor wherever it can find him? No. It plainly declares the authority of the Government to act in these States, when the civil power is overthrown. This resolution is designed to say to the people that the President is invested, under the Constitution, with certain powers incident to a state of war, and that the military authority has as much right to arrest a traitor in Ohio, as it has to arrest a traitor in New York, or a traitor in Virginia. [Applause.] When war is declared against the Government of the United States for the purpose of overthrowing it, that war is waged against the entire Union, the entire Government. It is no matter that the clash of arms occurs in Virginia, North Carolina, or Georgia, the war is waged just as much against New York, as any other State. We are as much under the laws of war in the State of New York, as in the State of Virginia, because we have but one Government, and that extends throughout the United States. No matter whether the war is proclaimed against a foreign or a domestic foe, it is a war against the entire Government. Therefore, if a traitor, by acting in New York, by speeches, publications to be circulated in Virginia or South Carolina, or in any way gives aid and en-

couragement to the rebels, he is just as guilty as his associates in Georgia or South Carolina. [Applause.] Just as guilty of treason as though standing in Richmond, Charleston, or New Orleans, and just as liable to suffer the penalty of death ; and just as legally, too. [Applause.] This resolution affirms the existence of this power, as incident to a state of war ; when we are engaged in a struggle to maintain the National Government. But, we have among us at the North, a class of individuals represented by that thing on the banner there [a copperhead] ,and we propose to take them just as the eagle takes that copperhead. [Applause.] We propose to become American eagles and take them by the neck. [Applause.] Wherever we find a vile copperhead trying to strike his fangs to the heart of liberty, we will seize him by the power of National sovereignty, and that is the National sovereign, for, as the resolution states, this power is vested in the President, by virtue of his office as Commander-in-Chief. It is made by the Constitution his special duty to see that the laws are faithfully executed. I was remarking the other day to myself, in reading the Constitution, the great power conferred upon the President. I was forcibly struck with the similarity of that clause of the Constitution to that given to the Consuls in the days of the rebellion in Rome, when the Senate decreed that the Consuls should see to it that the Republic sustained no detriment. Understand, the power to do everything necessary to protect the Republic from detriment, was thereby delegated to the Consul. And, in this very provision, the very clause and section of our Constitution, wherein the President is made Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy, says : " He shall see that the laws of the United States are faithfully executed." That is what he is trying to do ; to put down this rebellion, that the laws may be faithfully executed. So much for the first part of the resolution. Now what as to the remainder ? If there is anything needed in this country, where we are trying the experiment of maintaining a popular government, where those who rule, must rule by the will of the people, if there is anything we need more than anything else, it is that we have enlightened constancy for this Government, that the people are enlightened and informed. The principle is to throw out before the people of the State of New York this principle, that we

have this power incident to a state of war ; the Government has it, and it has the duty of exercising that power. We do not feel that we are censuring the President, casting reflections upon the President; finding fault with what he has done. We do not wish to be understood as reckless, but, whenever this military necessity, pending a state of war, compels a resort to this power—now, recollect, we are confining ourselves strictly to a State where we are in a state of peace—whenever the exigency of war shall demand a resort to this power as shall compel an abridgement of the freedom of speech, or of the press, or the suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, we say that the greatest care should be exercised. Do not you say so? I wish to say that we are not reckless. I believe that the President does not need caution in this direction, but there are those who feel differently.

A VOICE: We don't care for them.

Mr. N. V. HULL, of Alleghany: I am opposed to the resolutions as they stand. I suppose that we who are friends of the Government can consider these words safely, but they will be seized upon by those that we wish to pacify, who are the enemies of this Government, and they will pervert them to the detriment of the Government. Every word you say apologetic of the acts of the Government, must weaken the Government.

Mr. CENTER, of Kings, only objected to that portion of the resolution which succeeded the word "but." He despised and repudiated all buts. He spoke of the howls from the Governor and others in relation to the arrest of Vallandigham, and said we wanted a resolution passed by the Convention approving of that act.

Mr. LAPHAM of Clinton: I think that the committee will report a resolution that will be entirely satisfactory to us. I move that the resolution be referred back to the committee.

Mr. R. B. ROOSEVELT, of New York: Mr. President, in studying natural history, I have been often struck with the resemblance between an ostrich and a man. I don't think, however, that man does himself much credit when he attempts to pursue the remarkable course peculiar to that animal, and by hiding his head imagine that no one can see him. Now, gentlemen, I have seen since this war broke out, an attempt on be-

half of my own party, the Democratic party, to hide from that great question, the question of the war, that must be determined by the war—the question of slavery. I believed at the beginning that that question had to be met, and I believe so now. [Applause.] I no more believe that you can avoid that question than I believe you can avoid the question of putting down the rebellion itself. I see an attempt on the part of some here to hide themselves from one of the most important questions we have to meet—the question whether the Government has a right to make arbitrary arrests—so much so, that here, the last gentleman who spoke, said he would not mention the name of the traitor, who, he hoped, was at present sent South. I am not afraid to name him. I am a Democrat, and I claim the right when a Democrat turns traitor to his party and his country, to hurl him out. [Applause.] I claim the right—if it were in my power to do it—to stamp the deepest sign of infamy upon his forehead. I say Vallandigham is a traitor. [Applause.] I, as a Democrat, would go far to see him hung. [Applause.] I have approved of the Government exercising its utmost power in putting down the rebellion, and in the course of the exercise of that power, if any individuals, North or South, stand in the way, I have said that the Government should sweep them from the path like flies. I don't wish this question shirked. I want you to meet it; meet it here, strongly, clearly, so that when we go back to our constituency we can say that is what the loyal men want them to stand by. [Applause.] I don't know what the copperheads think of this. I want to know what they will think of it. That resolution was debated with some vigor and earnestness before the committee, and various views were stated by the various members of the committee, and the original resolution proposed in the committee was very greatly modified. But the thing that I want to avoid, that you want to avoid, is anything like succumbing to traitors. [That's it.] If a man goes around the city of New York, stirring the population up to riot, I say that the right to suppress him as a nuisance is unmistakable, and if a man thus stirs up rebellion in the vicinity of our homes, I want to see him punished. [Applause.] But, I would suggest to the Government to be very careful in the exercise of that power. I would suggest it, not in a spirit of faultfinding,

not with the intention of casting reflections upon the Government, or anything it had done previously, but urging them, not as a matter of policy, but on the score of right underlying, all our interests—the right of every man to protection and liberty—urging them to be very careful that they do not select improper persons to punish; that they don't, in seeking the guilty, add to the list of martyrs. I don't think there is anything in that resolution that will cast a reflection on the Government. I think that resolution meets the case fairly and simply; that we sustain the Government in the course they have pursued; that we are willing they should exercise every reserved right that the nation possesses for its preservation. We are also anxious to caution them, out of regard to themselves, out of regard for the cause of liberty, that they shall not, without great cause or provocation, arrest any man. [Applause.]

Mr. McDERMOTT, of Kings, said he claimed that this Government had not been at fault for too much clemency, but rather for too little. I want this resolution stiffened up, so that it shall say to Abraham Lincoln, that when a man comes into our midst, preaching civil war, it is his duty to arrest him, and stop him; that the terrors of civil war shall not be brought to our homes as they have been brought to the homes of loyal men in the South. There is where the Government is remiss; it ought to go before the people, and claim, as a government, to protect us in our rights as citizens of the United States, and to nip the rebellion in the bud, which is threatened just here. I therefore want the resolution recommitted, so that the committee shall report to this Convention a clause in it, claiming this power for the Government, and calling upon the Government to perform their plain duty—that when a man, in a loyal State, raises his voice inciting people to the resistance of the laws, as men have done all through this loyal North, that resolution should say to the Government: “It is your duty, and it is our right to claim of you the performance of that duty without fear, that you shall nip this incipient insurrection in the bud.” Therefore I hope that this resolution will go back to the committee and be stiffened up, [applause] and that this Convention shall not go before the American people as yielding any right of freedom of speech or of the press, but announcing

ourselves clearly, defiantly, as claiming all the rights of loyal citizens in regard to speech, and at the same time claiming the right to nip that speech, and nip that press, when it incites in surrection among us.

Mr. ALVORD, of Onondaga: The resolution conveys the idea that the Administration has, in this matter of arbitrary arrests, as they have been called, done something wrong, and that it was therefore necessary that this Convention should travel out of its usual and ordinary course to censure it. He thought that in no act had the Government so fully met the wishes of the people as in this matter of arbitrary arrests. [Applause.] He was entirely willing to subscribe to the doctrine of the former part of the resolution if the Convention should see fit so to order, but he was willing to stop where the resolution divided itself. He considered that, while the Constitution guaranteed to the people of this State the right of petition, the Legislature was not bound to receive a disrespectful communication, so he said that the constitutional right of free speech was not intended to sustain those who were speaking against the interests of the country. The resolutions which passed at the mass meeting of the Loyal League in Syracuse, entirely met his view, as follows:

Resolved, That while we cannot, and do not expect the acts of the Government will meet the entire approbation of all the people, and while we cheerfully yield to all the right fairly to discuss the propriety of the measures of Government, yet neither the obligations of constitutional law demand, nor will the present safety and perpetuity of our glorious Union permit us to quietly submit to the ranting of those men who pervert the right of free speech by open, studied, and continuous attempts to weaken the power of the nation by undermining the confidence of the people in the integrity of its constituted authorities.

(No action was taken on this substitute.)

He was not afraid to name the traitor from Ohio, C. L. Vallandigham, whom he thought to be engaged in acts against this Government still worse than those of the serried ranks of Vicksburg or Richmond. He approved of the sentence of Vallandigham, and would not at this time pause to say to the Government "Be careful." They had been already too careful

and too fearful of offending the dear people. The people wanted this war carried on to the knife—with that bitter, uncompromising hate that Mr. Gerritt Smith had spoken of. He, therefore, proposed to strike out the latter part of the resolution.

Mr. JAY: I propose that the resolution be recommitted to the committee, with the addition of gentlemen whom I will name, to form a resolution upon the subject.

This motion was carried, and Mr. Gerritt Smith, Mr. Mansfield, of Rockland, and Mr. Alvord, of Onondaga, were added to the committee. The resolution was recommitted, and the Convention adjourned until half-past seven P. M.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention met pursuant to adjournment, and, while waiting for delegates to arrive, at the suggestion of Major Scholefield, joined in singing the "Star-Spangled Banner."

Mr. BENJ. J. LOSSING, who was upon the platform, said, that the singing of that song recalled an incident relative to the identical "star-spangled banner" which inspired the song. They all knew that the song was written by Francis S. Key, of Baltimore, who was a prisoner of war in 1814, on board a British ship which was bombarding Fort McHenry. All night long he expected that Fort McHenry would be taken, and when, in the morning, he saw that banner still floating from the ramparts, he was inspired to write that song. About a year ago, he (Mr. Lossing) was in Baltimore, and saw the identical flag that floated on Fort McHenry on the night in question. He was sorry to say it was in the hands of what they called a copperhead, but he hoped the owner had been converted since. [Applause.]

Major SCHOLEFIELD further suggested that they should join in singing a recruiting song with the refrain—

Take your gun and go, John,
Take your gun and go,
For Rose can mind the oxen, John,
And I can wield the hoe.

Mr. SCHOLEFIELD said these words were addressed by the wife of a volunteer to her husband.

The Convention joined heartily in the song, then gave three cheers for the wife, three for John, and three for Rose.

Gen. COCHRANE resumed the chair, and asked whether the Committee on Resolutions was ready to report.

Mr. JAY, on behalf of the committee, then reported the following, in place of the fifth resolution :

5. *Resolved*, That we approve the utmost enforcement of the laws against those who in Northern homes are lending aid to the enemies of the country ; that, in our opinion, the leading traitors and abettors of treason found in the Northern States should be promptly arrested, promptly tried, and promptly punished ; and that no outcry, however insolent or violent, should deter any officer of the Government, civil or military, from any measures that may be essential to the safety of the country in this crisis ; that, thus declaring, we deem it right to express also our conviction, which we believe to be the conviction of a vast majority of the loyal people, that whenever a just military necessity, or the exigencies of the country pending the war, shall compel a suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, great care should be exercised lest an example be set that may induce in future times the violation of rights dearly prized by the American people.

(Laid on the table after debate. See page 47.)

Mr. JACOBSON, of Westchester, objected to the last clause of the resolution. He did not see in what respect the committee had bettered it. It still cast an aspersion upon the Government or the Administration, that it had done, or would do, an unlawful act. If they were unconditionally loyal, they should support the Government honestly through thick and thin—through every measure honestly undertaken for the suppression of this rebellion. They should not place an engineer in charge of the great machinery of Government, and then declare that they had no confidence in him.

Mr. SINCLAIR TOUSEY, of New York, moved that the last clause of the resolution read by Mr. Jay be stricken out, and that the first clause be adopted.

Mr. CENTER, of Long Island, thought that the Convention would not have done its duty if it refrained from action on this subject of the alleged violation of law by the Government. He

denounced the letter of Gov. Seymour to the Albany meeting, of sympathy with Vallandigham. He wanted this Convention to say, "Stop your hissing, you copperheads!" [Applause.] If the Convention did not speak out, it would be told, "You dare not come up to the mark, and justify an act which is an encroachment on your rights and privileges." He wanted to show that that charge was false, and to tell such men, "If you sympathize with that rebel, we will send you to keep him company." [Applause.] Since they would not receive Vallandigham at Richmond, he trusted that as the traitor was unfit for either North or South, he should be suspended between the lines. [Laughter and applause.] The boys wouldn't dodge round when they fired, for fear of missing him. [Laughter.] He had not named Vallandigham, because he loathed the name; he would spit it out, and stop his (Vallandigham's) mouth. [Applause.] He wanted the Convention to express its confidence in Burnside, its justification of his act, and its condemnation of the traitor who has got his deserts. [Applause.] The affair had already done some good; it had unearthed one copperhead, Gov. Seymour. He knew Gen. Burnside well, and had confidence in him, and could, therefore, approve the act; but he found it pretty difficult to meet the arguments which were thrust at him, by the *Post* and *Tribune*. But they had done one good thing—they had unearthed Seymour, and consigned him to oblivion before the people of the State of New York.

Mr. JOEL TIFFANY, of Albany, offered the following as a substitute for the last clause:

RESOLUTIONS PROPOSED BY MR. TIFFANY.

Resolved, That, whenever the nation's existence is imperilled by war, waged by foes from abroad, or by a foul conspiracy and insurrection excited and carried on by disaffected and traitorous citizens at home, *the nation possesses the inherent right of self-preservation; and may defend itself against the force and machinations of the common enemy*, and as the individual, so the nation, may use ALL MEANS NECESSARY *for the enforcement of such right, and the preservation of its existence; AND THE MORE IMMINENT the danger, THE MORE ABSOLUTELY are all means at its disposal, to avert it.*

(No action taken on this substitute.)

Resolved, That there is an imperative obligation resting on those entrusted with the power of wielding the resources and means for preserving the nation's existence, and maintaining its authority, to discharge the trust in such a manner as to preserve the nation's existence at *any cost*, consistent with the value thereof; and by *any means*, consistent with the honor and integrity of a Christian people. And, in the discharge of their high trust, they should adhere as closely to a constitutional administration of the Government, as administered in times of peace, *as the exigencies of war or rebellion* will permit.

(No action taken on this substitute.)

Mr. TIFFANY, in support of his resolutions, alluded to the signal defeat of the anti-war party in this State in 1861, and the rebuke of the revolution men, prophesying that the State would again prove its adherence to anti-party movements in time of war, and that the people would rebuke in thunder-tones at the next election those who presumed to say that the nation no longer trusted its rulers, or feared that the liberties of the North are in danger. He believed that the Convention had done its entire duty in passing the four resolutions already adopted, and that there is no necessity for lumbering up the platform with any other than the plain and simple positions already taken. But, if the committee still adhered to the resolutions, he trusted that his friend Mr. Smith would bring forward the series proposed by him.

Mr. ALVORD, Onondaga, said he did not vote in Committee for the resolution reported. He did not think any resolution at all on the subject was necessary; and certainly not such a milk-and-water affair as was proposed by the committee. He deprecated making any issue on the point here; which could only have the effect of giving the appearance to copperheads outside, that we, the Union men of the country, were divided among ourselves. The copperheads are growing less and beautifully less every day, and the best policy was to let the agitation they were raising die out from want of fuel. The Ides of November would show them whether in the matter of arbitrary arrests they represented the voice of the country.

Major SCHOLEFIELD, Oneida, detailed many of the difficulties he had experienced in his recruiting tours in Oneida and other coun-

ties, from the discouraging words which had been whispered into the hearts of the young men of the country, by those who were anxious to discourage enlistments. In a hall on the other side of the street there was an individual who addressed a meeting, saying, "I am opposed to any further enlistments; opposed to another single soldier going; there is no such thing as ending this rebellion by arms; every soldier who goes is a miserable poltroon." Such is some of the language we have had to meet. I had rather see the rule of Jefferson Davis over this country to-day, than the rule of the individual who has been chosen by the votes of the people of this State to be Governor thereof. If any notice whatever is taken of this Vallandigham, let it be to respectfully suggest that he, and those who think with him, be consigned to the southernmost cape that points its finger to the very farthest portion of this Confederacy, so that when treason is swept out of our path, they shall be swept into the Gulf the first men. [Applause.] If you take any notice of them at all, notice them as you would a poll-cat—either by giving them a wide berth, or by sending them where they will not be able to make any possible nuisance in the path. [Laughter and applause.]

Mr. GERRITT SMITH, of Madison: Believing, sir, that this Convention will not speak out with sufficient fullness on this great question of the freedom of speech, and its present connections in our country, by passing the resolutions of the gentleman from Albany, or by passing his resolutions amended, or unamended,—I offer the following substitute:

PROPOSED RESOLUTIONS OF MR. GERRITT SMITH.

Resolved, That, although the right of free speech, given to us by God and guaranteed by our Federal and State Constitution, should never be abridged, either in peace or in war, the abuse of it, nevertheless, may, and sometimes should be punished both in peace and war.

Resolved, That, in the case of abuses of this right in time of war, it is for the martial power, and it only, to decide which of them may be dealt with, if at all, by the slow and uncertain process of the civil law, and which of them must, for the safety of the country, be met by the promptitude and certainty of martial law.

Resolved, That, notwithstanding the martial power does,

in some instances, exercise unwisely, or even oppressively, its right to punish the abuse of free speech, the right nevertheless remains, and there is no appeal from the exercise of it but to open revolution.

Resolved, That the criticising of any instance of the exercise of this right is entirely proper, provided it be in the spirit of justice, and with the patriotic purpose of helping the Government and harming the enemy, instead of the traitorous purpose of harming the Government and helping the enemy.

- *Resolved*, That to deny to the Government the right to shield the country in time of war from the perils of treasonable speech, is virtually to deny to it the right to shield it from any perils, or indeed to take any steps to save it.

Resolved, That our Government has given abundant proofs, that it is honestly intent on putting down the rebellion, and preserving the rights of the people; and that, therefore, for individuals or public meetings or the press to accuse it of aiming to put down free speech instead of the rebellion, and to oppress instead of protecting the people, is wickedly to slander the Government, and wickedly to impair public confidence in it, and wickedly to strike hands with the enemy.

Resolved, That the way to show our regard for free speech is, to stand by the Government in its endeavors to preserve to us a free nation; since if this rebellion should be allowed to triumph, there will be danger, that not only free speech, but free limbs also, will be denied to us.

Resolved, That our advice to the Government is, that it shall believe the loyalty of our noble army, and of the mass of our citizens, to be too deep to be disturbed by the treasonable words spoken or printed among us, and that it shall, therefore, save in a few aggravated or peculiar instances, give no heed to such words.

(No action taken on this series of resolutions.)

Mr. GERRITT SMITH said: I will say a few words in support of the resolutions, although my voice is hoarse. I have two objections to the resolution previously offered and the substitute. They do not assert the inalienableness of the right of free speech. They do not claim that it is God-given and inviolable. Another objection I have is, they don't speak out fully enough in regard to the rights of the military power to suppress abuses of free speech. I need not say that I prize free speech.

My writings and my speeches for more than a quarter of a century back, show how truly I prize the freedom of speech. I hold it as among the most precious gifts of God. I scout—I utterly scout the idea that it is a grant of government. Government, at the most, can but guarantee its exercise. I might go on to say that my own personal safety has been too often imperilled by the enemies of free speech, for me to think lightly of free speech. Strange changes we witness in this war! Twenty or thirty years ago I had often to retreat before the howling of democratic mobs, and that too when I was using my free speech only to expose the immorality of that system which forbids marriage, which forbids the reading of the Bible, which sells children by the pound, which puts women on the auction block, to be struck off to the highest bidder among the lustful who are coveting the possession of her charms. It was for this offence that I had to fly here and there, and hide myself from infuriated mobs. And now, I say, how great the changes in this world. The democratic party has become the great champion of free speech! [Laughter.] But I won't trust them now. [Applause.] I should be afraid they would mob me again if I should speak out against their great darling. But although we dearly prize free speech, we know that limits must be set to the abuse of it. We know that the salvation of the country requires such limits. I deny that limits are to be prescribed in peace or in war, by the civil or the martial power, to the legitimate exercise of free speech. It is to me as free as the arm is free. He who exercises it should have his title to it as absolute as his title to his limbs. And, I would say here, that it is for the martial power to say, in time of war, what abuses of free speech it will leave to the civil power, and the civil law to dispose of, and what abuses it will meet with its own promptitude and certainty. Before taking my seat, let me affirm, what you are all ready to affirm, what you will all respond to—that it is a gross and guilty slander against the Government, and a corresponding crime against the country, to charge, as individuals and as public meetings, and as presses have charged, that the Government has turned away from the work of putting down the rebellion, and is putting down free speech. It is a gross and guilty slander, and I will say no more. [Applause.]

SPEECH OF HON. ROSCOE CONKLING, OF ONEIDA, ON THE RESOLUTIONS.

HON. ROSCOE CONKLING: As I was honored with a seat in the committee by which these resolutions were reported, I trust that the Convention will indulge me in a word, particularly as I have a suggestion to make. Although a member of the committee, I happened not to be present when the original resolution was adopted which was reported to the Convention; therefore I heard it first as it was read from the platform. I was one of those, however, who voted for the resolution submitted by my distinguished friend from New York, Mr. Jay, which I voted for as a resolution of compromise, one which I thought would meet the views of every member of this Convention. I am ready to vote now, if the questions shall be taken, for that resolution. Yet, before I do so, I desire to put myself right, in this behalf, before those who have taken part in this discussion, as well as those who have listened to it. I shall be willing, Mr. Chairman, to challenge comparison with any other member of this Convention, in the disgust and aversion with which I have witnessed the clap-trap and humbug, fustian, and the rant which this arrest of Vallandigham has furnished the occasion for in this State of New York. [Applause.] I am willing to challenge comparison with any other man in the disgust he feels for those who have gone about haranguing crowds in order to range into a party everything brutal, savage, and cowardly among the population of the State of New York. I must always condemn those who have staid away from meetings of this character, and have written letters—[shame]—letters emanating from official authority—by which the people of this mighty State—the first republican State of Christendom—are told to “pause,” “pause,” ere they determine the question whether they will continue to support their Government, engaged in a bloody grapple with rebels for the mastery, whether they will take part in a struggle between light and darkness, aristocracy and democracy; between liberty and glory on the one hand, and the most God-daring, God-cursing despotism on the earth. [Applause.] Now, sir, I want to be committed to no resolutions which would interpose a shield between the people and the men who have so far gone aside from the great duties that rest upon us all, apparently for the

sake of party pique and party triumph. They would drown our nationality in the bloody waves of revolution, and stand careless on the shore. [Applause.] Now, Mr. Chairman, in a few words, what is the case of this C. L. Vallandigham? In a military district, on the confines of that portion of this continent upon which the rebellion has raised its hand to strike down constitutional liberty, there, upon those confines, in a military department, a democratic general, acting without the slightest instructions from the National Administration—and I do not speak in the air when I say this—a democratic general, acting of his own motion, arrested a citizen of the State of Ohio for inciting disorder and mischief. That was his offense. Who was the offender? I knew him well, personally, better than I know many gentlemen who sit upon this platform. I know that when the actors in this tragedy of treason were halting between two opinions; when they were vacillating between doubt and determination; when they could not satisfy themselves that it would be prudent to carry out their purpose; at that time, trembling upon the brink of this mighty vortex into which they were swinging, C. L. Vallandigham, with that other traitor John C. Breckinridge, went to the city of Baltimore, claiming to be a representative of the North, and there held out, as far as he could to the South, the belief that when this battle commenced, there would be a party here in the North to inaugurate revolution and to “rear a guillotine here in order that heads might roll if Lincoln dared attempt coercion.” [Oh! oh!] Now, I have sometimes thought, that if right there, in Baltimore, there had been a little healthy hanging then, it would have done much to nip the rebellion in the bud. [Applause.] I do not slander Baltimore, for, subsequently, this same Vallandigham was expected to make a speech in Baltimore. I give his words as he told me himself. A friend sent him word that he had better not come, as his life would not be safe among the loyal people of that slaveholding city. [Applause.] Now, a little more about Vallandigham. I have heard him, as I think my friend the chairman has heard him repeatedly, in his place in the House of Representatives, speaking, as the old man eloquent once said: “That the nation might hear.” I have heard him declare, over and over again,

that he believed this war a blunder and a folly, and he never would vote to it a man or a dollar; that he would do nothing to prosecute it, nothing to bear it on to victory. Having done all this, he went to his own State, and there, on the stump, counselled, I will not say resistance—because I will measure my expressions—I will not say resistance to the laws—but he countenanced and advised irreverence for law, contempt for law, saying, that those who would submit to laws which had been made and which had not been pronounced unconstitutional by any Court, were a set of contemptible slaves, who deserved to be fettered. He was tried and convicted. He applied to a democratic judge—a judge who has been a democrat since Jackson lived—he applied to that judge, who issued a writ of *habeas corpus*. Upon its return, however, he fully, fairly, deliberately, and patiently reviewed all the *pros* and *cons* presented by Mr. Vallandigham and his counsel, and he then rendered a written opinion, or, more properly, wrote a judgment in the form of a written opinion, in which he held that Vallandigham had been properly arrested; that Vallandigham was rightly held, and that the case was one in which the civil judicial power ought not to interfere. [Applause.] That is the case, and forthwith a mob in the city of New York has spasms and ecstasies of propriety. [Laughter.] They say that poor Vallandigham has been arrested in his own house—whose house ought he to be arrested in? [Laughter.] Now, what else? The whole swarm of sharks and pestilent beings—men who, long before anybody had been arbitrarily arrested; men who, long before one single act had occurred—except the issue by the President of his Proclamation, in which he called for seventy-five thousand men to preserve from instant extinction your nationality—the very symbols, archives, and vestiges of it—when the President had done only that, these men reared their heads in base denunciation. The whole swarm cries out “treason,” and indignation meetings are held—indignation meetings, which, when they were opened, required word to be sent to the officers of our brave volunteers, to keep them away, lest their indignation should terminate the proceedings. [Applause.] The same men who will not let the soldiers vote [applause], justify the Executive of the State in

sending to the Senate a message or a political diatribe, which I believe he had no right to send, because no document had been sent him to sign; but upon his own deliberation, he stalks into the Senate with a threat that he will veto their action if they take a certain course. I say it was an act which no House of Commons in England would have submitted to from that which cut off Charles' head. [Applause]. But, these men, I say, who want to exclude the soldiers from voting; who send to officers of regiments to prevent soldiers coming to their meetings; those whose pride it ought to be, every day and every night, to reward the heroic ones for their services in the field; [applause] the men who are still outraging public sentiment and trampling upon the rights of the most patriotic ones in the community, have assembled and stand forth bravely as the elected champions of free speech. Who are these men who are so anxious about the God-given right of free speech? Men have taken part in these indignation meetings, whom, I will say—and I will prove it—men have taken part in these meetings, making speeches, and sending messages to arouse the worst passions of the populace, who, within two years and a half, have met secretly, clandestinely, and at night, to arrange to mob a woman because she sought, in a hall which she hired herself, to talk to a few old maids and barren women about free speech. [Applause, and roars of laughter.] But, my fellow-citizens, it is one of the characteristics of this unholy rebellion, that you and I are compelled to sit down meekly as disciples of free speech at the feet of those who have for thirty years trampled upon every element of that right. [Applause]. No matter, I did not mean to multiply so many words about that. ["Go on."] Now, I am entirely of opinion—as much so as any gentlemen in this room—that we ought not to be induced, even to seem—not even to seem, for I would have not only the *esse* but the *videri* of the thing—not to seem to give one single inch to the rant and fustain and clamor of these men. They wanted a flaw to pick, and have taken this step to do it. They would array popular passion and prejudice against this Administration, and have seized upon this thing in order to do it. I know they are hypocrites, and they know they are. [Applause and laughter.] But, my fellow-citizens, while I

would not be coerced by men of this description into any position I would not otherwise take, on the other hand I would carefully guard against being driven by any false pride into withholding anything right in itself, and right irrespective of this clamor. I would guard carefully against being swerved by the disgust and contempt I feel for men who go snivelling around into meetings saying, "Don't be excited about this thing"—"dreadful thing"—"majesty of the law has been trampled down"—"let us pause"—"pause and see whether we will be on one side or the other"—"don't be excited"—"don't kill anybody in the streets"—"don't burn any man's house." I say, I would not yield anything to these men. I would not allow myself to be swerved from doing what I knew was an abstract right. Now, we believe in the right of self-defence—self-preservation is a law of nature. Every individual within a free government has a right to live, and the right to do everything but interfere with his neighbor's rights. That is the first proposition, if I understand it, of this resolution. It is the duty of every loyal man to sustain the Government in anything, and every act honestly and essentially necessary to its supremacy and its continuance, and for the absolute subjugation of this, the most stupendous, most wicked, and the most causeless insurrection that ever disgraced the annals of mankind. [Applause.] The second proposition in these resolutions is that we say—and we are ready to say it, because it is true—that in all cases calling for the exercise of this great power reposed in the Government, that power ought to be carefully and prudently exercised. Well, should it not? There are certain great powers—I put it to the lawyers—that courts possess. The Court of Chancery has always possessed the power to issue an injunction—a great prerogative. Have not all the Judges said, that that great power must always be exercised upon great deliberation, "and upon no other occasion," in the language of a very learned Judge? So, too, with this great power—the greatest power that can be exercised in any free government to send out a fiat which will effectually, for the time being, suspend judicial vitality. Is it not true, is it not sound? I put it to every man, that Government should, if it exercise that power, do it deliberately, wisely, sagaciously, and firmly? Does this resolu-

tion say anything more than that? No, sir, I understand that it says no more. I very much mistake those who hear me, if you can be driven by the disgust you feel, the indignation you feel, and the disapprobation you feel for these men—driven to withhold an expression that is true to-day; that was true yesterday; which was not made more true because C. L. Vallandigham was arrested, which existed over him and before him, which is true for all time, that this great power of government ought to be “wisely, prudently, sagaciously, and firmly exercised.” It seems to me that but for the bare fact that this citizen of Ohio has become subject to this arrest, not one gentleman who hears me would have raised his voice against the proposition that has been ultimately been reported by the committee. For one, Mr. Chairman, I deplore the length of this discussion, for the reason that this Convention has other matters of business, I understand, of importance, to transact; and now I suggest to the gentleman by whom this resolution was reported—it is a suggestion that I make for myself alone—that as it is likely to tend to harmony, and to hasten the progress of our proceedings, that this resolution be withdrawn. Allow this subject to pass with the discussion, I think I may say the very able discussion, excepting that portion with which I hope it will terminate. I hope Mr. Jay will withdraw his resolution, and let the discussion end the whole question. [Applause.]

Mr. JAY: I have some doubt as to my right to withdraw the resolution, but I will do what will perhaps answer the same purpose, and will move, to lay the resolution upon the table. I understand the Committee on Permanent Organization is ready to report important business for the action of the Convention.

The fifth resolution was then laid upon the table.

Mr. JAY then read the remaining resolutions reported by the Committee:

6. That the fact disclosed by Lord Lyons, that he had been secretly approached by professed political leaders, faithless to the honor of the Republic, to arrange for British intervention in our national affairs, exhibits a depth of degradation and shame unknown in American politics since the day of Arnold; and that all true Americans repudiate with scorn those who at

this crisis of their country's fate, solicited the intervention of the British aristocracy to assist them in their conspiracy with Southern traitors for an ignominious or a dismembered nationality.

(Laid on the table without debate.)

7. That in the *Oreto*, the *Alabama*, and other British vessels, built, equipped, manned, and armed in England, to prey upon American commerce, and to recruit at pleasure in her colonial ports, we recognize with deep regret, not Confederate ships of war—they were never seen in Confederate ports—not privateers, justified by the law of nations, but British pirates let loose in violation of English neutrality; and that in the conduct of these vessels, covering the ocean with burning wrecks, inhumanly forbidding all efforts at rescue by the fear of capture, and thus enlarging English commerce by transferring American trade to British bottoms, we believe the world will recognize a violation of international faith, and an outrage on Christian civilization.

(Laid on the table without debate.)

8. That the ancient American doctrine, commonly known from its re-affirmance by President Monroe, as "the Monroe doctrine," so far as it regards with disfavor European interference with the just rights of the countries adjacent to the United States, is a doctrine which for generations has been repeatedly approved by American statesmen, and warmly cherished by the American people; and that in view of our recent experience of the disposition towards America of some of the leading European powers, national interests and national honor alike forbid the relinquishment of our olden policy of disapproving every encroachment by European powers on our American neighbors.

(Laid on the table without debate.)

These resolutions were all tabled, upon the general understanding that they were upon subjects not immediately connected with the business of the Convention, and upon the ground that portions of them were but repeating in detail a confidence in the Government, already expressed in the resolutions adopted.

Mr. JAY then read the following, the last resolution reported by the committee:

9. That having already freely given to the Government, at their call, of our fortunes and our sons, we pledge to them anew our

earnest and enduring support in waging to a successful issue this second war of American Independence, and we remember with constant pride, gratitude, and affection our army and navy, one and all, from the Commanding Officers to the drummer boys.

This resolution was adopted unanimously, amid great applause.

The reading of the address being next in order, Mr. JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr., proceeded to read it on behalf of the Committee as follows:

ADDRESS

OF THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, IN
STATE CONVENTION ASSEMBLED, TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

For the first time in history the spectacle has been presented to the World of a People self-governing and self-governed. The dream of statesmen, a form of government based upon the principle of the greatest good for the greatest number, has been realized. Its liberal policy has invited to itself, and moulded into a wide and Christian nationality, the oppressed of all lands, who have sought under its mild rule that field for individual energy which is denied in the countries of the Old World. The freedom of the individual, cramped in other lands by the strong hand of power based on class and privilege, has made America the marvel of the world. The broad and generous spirit which pervades her institutions, has, in less than a century, raised her to a proud place in the family of nations. Her prosperity has exceeded that of all countries in all times, and a future grandeur is unfolding which only inspiration can measure or foretell.

In the midst of this prosperity, in the hour of triumph, when the wealth of the country was only to be measured by the power of foreign nations to take of its surplus—when the centre of trade was to be moved across the ocean and fixed upon these shores, and the domination which the food-producing nation always exerts over the food-consuming nations, was to begin—a moral domination to be exercised in the interest of all mankind—a rebellion springs up and threatens the overthrow of the institutions by which this prosperity has been secured, and by which alone it can be maintained.

Under old and feudal systems, all the rebellions against

constituted authority were in the interest of the governed, and were intended to wrest from arbitrary power something of the rights which had been wrung from weakness and ignorance by the strong hand.

The American Revolution, which partly freed the Colonies, in 1776, from the feudal system, and which established this nation on the broad and firm base of democratic and representative government, was a revolution in the sacred name of liberty.

The present rebellion, the most gigantic in power and the most portentous in results, which the world has yet seen, aims to break down the form and destroy the substance of that liberty secured to us at great cost and by severe trials. It has been left to American citizens to commit a crime so great that history has no parallel for it—the rebellion of a large portion of the people against their own self-instituted and self-established rule—the rebellion of a democracy against popular government.

For, however opinions may differ as to the origin and causes of the rebellion, it is now clear, and admitted by its leaders, that its real object is to establish a stronger form of government than a republic.

It is only now, in this period of great civil war, that the nation is fully realizing the beauty and the strength of that system of polity which their forefathers perfected, and that they begin to understand its power and its flexibility. The most careful of the observers of its progress were unaware of its hidden forces which are yet comparatively as untested and unknown as the hidden powers of the electric fluid, or the force of steam.

A rebellion against the principle of democracy—a rebellion against the law of representative government—is a rebellion against mankind itself. In the success or destruction of the rebellion are involved not the happiness of America only—not the liberties of America only—but the peace and welfare of a world.

If this nation falter in its hard but necessary task; if this Government fail, the progress of humanity is arrested, civilization is turned back upon itself, and another night, like that of the middle ages, will close dark and gloomy upon mankind—for progress is the law of life; forward to light, liberty, and happiness; or, backward to darkness, slavery, and misery.

The world's battle-ground is here.

The great cause for which we are banded together is the cause of liberty, the cause of democracy, the cause of civilization.

For this we associate ourselves as a LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, PLEDGED TO UNCONDITIONAL LOYALTY TO THE GOVERNMENT, to an

UNWAVERING SUPPORT OF ITS EFFORT TO SUPPRESS THE REBELLION, AND TO SPARE NO ENDEAVOR TO MAINTAIN UNIMPAIRED THE NATIONAL UNITY BOTH IN PRINCIPLE AND TERRITORIAL BOUNDARY.

FOR THIS WE DECLARE OUR OBJECT TO BE TO BIND TOGETHER ALL LOYAL MEN OF ALL TRADES AND PROFESSIONS IN A COMMON UNION TO MAINTAIN THE POWER, GLORY, AND INTEGRITY OF THIS NATION.

For this we are joined, hand in hand, and heart to heart, in common brotherhood; and for this we proclaim our principles boldly and openly, that all may hear.

* Where tyranny crushes out the first manifestations of individual expression, and checks every attempt to widen the field of individual freedom, secret organizations are wise and just. In the past they have largely aided the cause of mankind. In the Border and Southern States, where armed authority has wrested the government from the popular grasp, they are necessary. But here, on the soil of freedom, loyalty needs no disguises. Loyalty should be as open as Christianity. Liberty does not thrive in the twilight or the dark—she loves the broad sunlight, and the brightness of the day. What said the Roman orator, when Cataline armed against his country?—"Let what each man thinks concerning the Republic be inscribed on his forehead."

To be loyal to our country, to proclaim ourselves at all times, and in all places, Americans—loyal Americans—what loftier privilege? The ancient Roman held no title prouder, claimed no honor higher, as he journeyed over the vast conquests of the imperial city, than that of a Roman citizen—"Civis Romanus Sum." How much more noble the title of American citizen—heir to an undivided portion in the heritage of liberty won by the energies, and first consecrated by the blood of our fathers, and now doubly dear to us that its fertile soil is moistened and enriched by the heart's blood of our brothers and our sons!

Why is it that we are here?—why do we gather from all parts of this great commonwealth, to renew to each other, in the face of all mankind, our sacred pledge? Why are we thus formed into a Loyal Band, counted and numbered and enrolled?

Because the God of Nations has decreed that nations, like individuals, shall be the architects of their own happiness or the authors of their own ruin; because, while the keepers of this Paradise were asleep, the Serpent, the Copperhead Treason, crept into this Eden.

Because in the day of our pride we have as a nation held material prosperity too dear, and counted National honor too cheap; because we have neglected the study of the law of life, and permitted error to grow unheeded into gigantic proportions; because we have blinded our eyes to the heresies which have

* For the action of the Convention on this paragraph see page 58.

grown up like ill weeds, until they threaten to choke out the healthy growth of true opinion. Because while open treason has sprung to arms, hidden treason and secret disloyal organizations seek to paralyze the hand which would strike it down. Because while the material forces of liberty and slavery are arrayed in deadly strife, the one marshaled under the banner of law and democratic government, and the other under despotism and aristocratic privilege, a contest goes on at home in the moral world.

The field of battle is not the only field on which the merits of this war must be decided; the forum and the hearth-stone are the scenes of a no less momentous contest.

The struggle is for the possession of the national mind as well as of the national arm. Truth and error are contending for the mastery.

A Major-General in the army, writing of the pledge of the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, happily remarked, "that it does not differ substantially from the one which I took some time since, and in a more formal and solemn manner even than is proposed by the League, and which I share with a million others—the *oath* of the army to bear true faith and allegiance to the United States of America, and to serve them honestly and faithfully against all their enemies and opposers whomsoever.

"May not those who have taken this oath be regarded as virtually members of the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE, active members, who to fulfill their pledge, have given up nearly all of their personal liberty, and most of whom are now sacrificing the material interests of themselves and families?"

Our brave soldiers in the field are indeed the active members of our League, but to us also there is a struggle as deadly and more momentous in its consequences than theirs.

How shall we best perform that duty—that patriotic duty imposed upon us by the voluntary pledge we have assumed?

For this we are gathered here, and for this we now address all loyal men. We are to set forth and uphold and maintain the principle on which this Government was founded, and the right of self-government and democratic representative rule. We are to see that the truth is brought to the door of every man, rich or poor, educated or ignorant, in the length and breadth of this land. By public speeches, lectures, and addresses, by private conversation, by the careful and thorough distribution of loyal documents, and by the spread of all loyal journals, regardless of their special party proclivities, we are to encourage this people through sacrifice and hardships, at the cost of all that God in his boundless bounty has given them, of all that they have gained by heritage, or earned by their own hard and weary toil, to stand firm and steadfast to the cause which

they have espoused—even to the laying down of life itself on the altar of patriotism and of duty.

This is no light task. It demands the aid of the purest and brightest intellects, the earnest sympathy of the warmest hearts, and the steady intelligent effort of every member of the League. It is labor to which we pledge ourselves—it is “to spare no effort” that we are solemnly engaged. The orator in the crowded square, the lecturer in the public hall, the divine from his desk, the student in his closet, must prepare and set forth the truth. Art, in its many forms and beauties, must lend its aid, and the breath of song must wake to new and burning heat the smouldering embers of patriotic fire.

Much has been done by all these forces ; much is daily doing but concentration is needed to blend in one resistless force all these scattered elements of power.

History records what great results have been reached by individual and combined efforts. A few monks travelling on foot centuries before printing and railroads and steamboats and the telegraph, by personal appeal to the Christian heart of the middleages, aroused all Europe to an armed crusade and weary marches over unknown lands to redeem the Holy Sepulchre.

Within the memory of men now living a still more marked instance of the power of organization has been witnessed.

In 1839, shortly after the appeal of the manufacturers had been rejected by the British Parliament by a vote of 361 to 172, the Anti-Corn Law League was formed. A central office was established at Manchester with numerous branches. Talent of every kind was at once employed, and by the well-directed efforts of the League, in a few years a Parliament was elected in support of its views, and the great commoner, then prime minister, gave his adhesion to its opinions.

When such a result was attained by an organization founded on a principle of political economy, what may not be reached by the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE based on loyalty to democratic government, and pledged to maintain the national unity and the national life ?

We urge, therefore, a thorough organization in every State, not by political but by local divisions, so that the color of suspicion of partisan motives may not rest upon it. Existing parties may continue or new be formed. Members of the League will exercise their individual opinion, and cast their vote as conscience directs ; but the League itself will look beyond parties to the welfare of the people, of which parties are but parts. Its duty will be to raise and purify, to instruct and encourage the body politic itself, and so doing to lift up all parties to a higher moral standard.

To effect this, concentration is necessary. Union is necessary.

THE LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE urges upon the Leagues in the State which are not formed under its auspices, (known to be but few in number) to adopt its pledge and its title, and they respectfully submit the same to all organizations in other States of a similar nature. So will all loyalty be enrolled for consistent effort, and treason will creep back into its hiding places, cowed into insignificance and disgrace.

A League, large or small, should be at once formed in every town, to receive and distribute documents and to secure subscriptions to loyal journals. A county organization should be formed in every county to provide for such distribution, to secure the needed funds, and to arrange for public addresses at stated periods and at principal places. And a general State Council should be established to supervise and harmonize the action of the different organizations, and to direct their efforts. This important body should be composed of men of the greatest purity of character, the most marked intellectual ability, and the loftiest patriotism.

THE LOYAL PUBLICATION SOCIETIES in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, which include in their publishing committees some of the best literary talent of the country, provide a ready means for an important part of the work thus laid down. It is for the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUE to give a practical result to their able patriotic labor.

Above all, we urge on every individual member to act faithfully up to the pledge he has taken. At all times and in all places to proclaim his loyalty, and to uphold the honor of this Government—in every manner to support its authority and condemn its assailants, relying always on that Providence which blesses honest labor and crowns it with success. When each man has performed his whole duty, he may fold his hands in the consciousness that he has not been less faithful nor less deserving of the honor of freedom than the soldier in the field.

Thus may he be secure that when his last hour shall come, he will feel satisfaction that his life has not been all in vain, in that, in the day of trial and adversity, he was faithful to the cause of country, and liberty, and law, and that his children will remember him with pride as one who deserved well of the Republic.

Mr. ALVORD, of Onondaga, proposed as a substitute for the address the resolution submitted by him as a substitute to the report of the Committee on Resolutions, together with the following, the whole being the resolution adopted at the Syracuse demonstration of the day previous :

PREAMBLE AND RESOLUTIONS.

Whereas, As in the hour of individual danger it is the duty of all to exercise their greatest effort to avert the threatened calamity, so, when peril surrounds the people, and the safety of the Government is in jeopardy, duty requires that all citizens should rally as one man to the support and maintenance of that Government; and,

Whereas, In the judgment of this meeting, the hour is now upon us which, beyond all others, demands that every patriot should boldly take and fearlessly maintain the position of a cordial supporter of the Government in the struggle for life and its efforts to throttle this rebellion, and that for the time all personal and political considerations should be made subservient to this paramount obligation: therefore,

Resolved, That duty dictates and patriotism compels us first to support and sustain the constituted government of this country in preference to personal considerations or party obligations.

Resolved, That in this struggle there is no middle ground for doubtful fidelity to the nation to stand upon—that those who are not for are against the Government; and that it is the merest sophistry for any one to claim that he is a patriot and a friend of the Union, while by his acts and words he demonstrates his sympathy with its enemies and consideration for traitors in arms against it.

Resolved, That we congratulate each other, and the country, upon the victorious progress of the arms of the Union in the Southwest, insuring the opening of the Mississippi, dividing the head of the rebellion from its trunk, and giving it no longer lease of life than the spasmodic throes of the dying serpent.

Resolved, That, believing the breaking up of this Government and severance of these States would be the direst calamity which could happen to us as a people, and to the cause of universal freedom throughout the world, we will, to avert it, sustain to the end—by our voices, our treasures, and our blood—our constituted authorities in their efforts to crush out this rebellion, and to restore the Government to its former unity; and to this end we now openly and publicly resolve ourselves into a Loyal Union League, to aid in the concentration of the power of our people to the support of the country.

Resolved, That any person subscribing to the following declaration of principles is declared a member of this League:

We pledge ourselves "to an unconditional loyalty to the

Government of the United States, an unwavering support of its efforts to crush the rebellion, and will spare no endeavors to maintain unimpaired the national unity."

(Rejected. See below.)

Mr. McDERMOTT, of Kings, took occasion to say that he thought the Loyal League organization was essentially a party organization, as they were bound in principle to sustain no man at the polls who was not unconditionally loyal.

Mr. SINCLAIR TOUSEY, of New York, asked whether a motion to lay the substitute upon the table would not carry the original address with it?

The Chair replied that it would.

Mr. IRA D. BROWN, of Oswego, objected to the portion of the address condemning secret organizations.

Mr. SINCLAIR TOUSEY, of New York, moved the previous question, which was ordered by the house.

The question was then taken on the substitute offered by Mr. ALVORD, which was lost by a large majority.

The Chair then decided that a division of the question had been called for, and that the question would now be taken on the address without the paragraph relating to secret societies. The paragraph objected to by Mr. BROWN was read and rejected.

The address, as amended, was then adopted.

Mr. J. A. MILLARD, of Renselaer, from the Committee on State Organization, next read the following:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON STATE ORGANIZATION.

That a State Committee of two from each Judicial District be appointed on the recommendation of the delegates therefrom, seven of whom shall constitute a quorum, with power to aid in the organization of local Leagues, and the distribution of documents, and to do all other matters connected therewith, calculated to augment and unite the loyal sentiment of the State of New York.

And that each county organization be requested to appoint one person to correspond in its behalf with the State Committee on the business of the League, and to co-operate with it generally in all matters connected with its business and welfare.

The committee recommend the early formation of county and town Leagues throughout the State, auxiliary to the State organization.

Mr. ALVORD, of Onondaga, wanted a resolution adopted that the Executive Committee should not exercise the powers of a political State Committee.

Mr. MILLARD : That is implied.

Mr. ALVORD : Then let it be expressed.

Mr. R. B. ROOSEVELT wanted New York city to have four members instead of two, in order to secure a quorum on an emergency.

Mr. VOORHEES, of Monroe, seconded the suggestion.

Mr. MILLARD thought the difficulty could be met by the State Executive Committee appointing a Business Committee that could be available at all times.

Mr. CAREY, of Albany, made some remarks relative to the differences among the Loyal League of the city of New York, stating that he wished some measure adopted that would secure the co-operation of the Loyal League of Union Citizens. He moved a reconsideration of the report of the Committee in order to take into consideration some means of securing the co-operation of the "Loyal League of Union Citizens."

Mr. ALVORD, of Onondaga, was unaware that there were any differences among the Loyal Leagues.

The Chair stated that he knew of no difference.

Mr. ALVORD, of Onondaga, strenuously objected to the appointment of any State Committee.

The Secretary, Gen. SHERMAN, of Oneida, said that he would in season submit a resolution to provide for a union of all the Loyal Leagues of the State.

Mr. C. E. STEPHENS, of Lewis, incidentally alluded to the periodical quarrels of New York city, and objected to the appointment of the Executive Committee.

Mr. LAPHAM, of Clinton, earnestly supported the report of the committee. He favored the appointment of a State Executive Committee.

Mr. R. B. ROOSEVELT said there were not only two, but three Loyal Leagues in the city of New York, but that there was no

quarreling. The two organizations spoken of were two general organizations that were elected at large meetings, and represent those meetings. The organization he represented was different from them both. Every ward in the city was represented in it by delegates duly elected. They had their central organization in the city of New York, and had sent delegates to this Convention. Although there might be 25,000 other delegates here, he claimed that their fifteen or twenty delegates represented full as many in themselves.

Mr. J. M. THOMPSON, of New York, said the main object of this Committee was to complete a State organization, and when that was done they would all join in the celebration tomorrow.

Mr. SINCLAIR TOUSEY, of New York, said there was an evident misunderstanding on this subject. Some had the idea that there were organizations in New York conflicting with each other. He wished it understood that they did not conflict in any manner whatever. They were every one bound to sustain the Government and crush the rebellion [Applause.]

Mr. JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS, Jr.: There is one word which should be said on behalf of the gentlemen from New York constituting the Council and Executive Committee of the Loyal National League, and I feel bound to say it, and that is, that the Loyal League of Union Citizens, were invited, not only to send delegates here, but also to extend invitation to all of the Leagues in the State, if any, which have been organized under its auspices, to be represented here by any members they chose to send. And there has been an invitation from the Loyal League of Union Citizens, requesting the National Loyal League to attend the mass assemblage here on the 27th, together with an invitation to supply speakers. [Voices—"All right."]

After some informal discussion, a motion to recommit the report of the Committee on Organization, was lost.

The report of the Committee on State Organization was then adopted, as given on page 55-56.

Gen. R. U. SHERMAN, of Oneida, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the State Committee to be appointed by this Convention, be instructed to take such measures as will secure,

if possible, united action among all Union Leagues in the State in the objects of their organization.

The Convention then took a recess for the purpose of enabling the district delegates to elect two members of the State Executive Committee from each Judicial District. Upon the reassembling of the Convention, the following selections were announced:

STATE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.*

1st Judicial District—George Opdyke, New York; James T. Brady, New York.

2d District—Alex. Davidson, Rockland; J. O. Nodyne, Kings.

3d District—Thomas B. Carroll, Rensselaer; John O. Newkirk, Columbia.

4th District—John F. Havens, St. Lawrence; Darius V. Berry, Montgomery.

5th District—Gen. R. U. Sherman, Oneida; Edward S. Lansing, Jefferson.

6th District—Abraham Lawrence, Schuyler; Hon. Ezra Cornell, Tompkins.

7th District—I. L. Endress, Livingston; Adolphus Morse, Monroe.

8th District—Harry Wilbur, Genesee; Dan. H. Cole, Orleans.

Mr. Jay said the Convention might be interested in learning that Mr. Opdyke and Mr. Brady, the chosen members for the first district, were both members of the Union League of Loyal Citizens, and that Mr. Brady was also the chairman of the Central Committee of the LOYAL NATIONAL LEAGUES in the city of New York: thus all the City Leagues were represented in the State Executive Committee. This announcement was received with applause.

Hon. ROSCOE CONKLING offered the following resolution, which was adopted by acclamation:

* For Post Office addresses, see fly-leaf at close.

Resolved, That we are earnestly in favor of allowing to the soldiers of the Republic, wherever stationed by order of the Government, the right to vote, and every other constitutional right.

Mr. JAY proposed the following resolution :

Resolved, That it is not the purpose, nor within the power of the committee here appointed, to form or provide for any partizan organization.

This was adopted unanimously.

Mr. IRA D. BROWN, of Oswego, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That this Convention approve and endorse the acts of our military authorities in arresting and punishing those persons who notoriously employ themselves in giving aid and comfort to the enemies of the United States in time of war and formidable domestic insurrection.

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. J. A. MILLARD, of Renselaer, moved that when the Convention adjourn, it do so to meet at the CELEBRATION to-morrow.

This motion was carried amid applause.

Mr. TIFFANY moved the following resolution :

Resolved, That the thanks of this Convention are hereby presented to the President, Brig.-Gen. JOHN COCHRANE, honorable in council, and in the field, for the ability and fairness which he has displayed during the sessions of this day ; and also to his coadjutors, and the other officers of this Convention, for the fidelity with which they have performed their several duties in the facilitation of the business for which this body has assembled.

This was also adopted by acclamation.

Mr. SINCLAIR TOUSEY offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted :

Resolved, That the thanks of the Convention be and are hereby tendered the Mechanics' Association of Utica for the gratuitous use of their Hall during the proceedings of this Convention.

The Convention then adjourned *sine die*.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

The following is the list of delegates as made up by the Committee to digest the rolls :

Albany.—Joel Tiffany, Chas. Knickerbocker, Howard Holdridge, Edward Cary, Luman Thomson, Brace Millard, Leonard Vanderkar, James M. McGowan, John A. Delamater, Ira Porter, Jacob I. Werner.

Alleghany.—Hugh Severance, B. F. Langworthy, N. V. Hull, C. M. Severance.

Broome.—D. J. Chittenden, J. S. Patterson, C. B. Gould, Edward H. Edwards, John T. Mygatt, J. R. Sands, Giles W. Hotchkiss, D. H. Crutten- den, A. E. Andrews, N. J. Hopkins, C. W. Sears, O. E. Bump, W. W. Elliott, Lewis Morris, Tracy R. Morgan, B. C. Vosburg, E. D. Robinson, Elliott Spencer, L. P. York, E. E. Jackson, Wm. R. Osborn, J. F. Cary, O. W. Chapman.

Cattaraugus.—Frederick Eaton.

Cayuga.—E. B. Latimer, William Wasson, John T. M. Davie, J. J. Grundy.

Chautauqua.—Dr. T. B. Brewer, A. D. Marton, N. S. Hinckley, R. Sunderlin, E. P. Whitney, Austin Smith, William McKinstry, H. D. M. Miner, H. C. Frisbee, Calvin Hutchinson, Chas. L. Mack.

Chemung.—J. T. Rathbone, John I. Nicks, D. F. Pickering, David Decker, Wm. T. Post, D. C. Curtiss, J. T. Dudley, W. H. Welch, D. B. Nelson, John Ross, J. G. Lowman, Samuel Everett, David Thomas, Dr. H. Seaman.

Chenango.—Francis B. Fisher, J. B. Reynolds, P. B. Rathbone, Geo. W. Sumner, S. S. Morgan, S. Steele, J. T. Butterfield, L. N. Smith, George C. Rice.

Cortland.—Hiram Crandall, R. H. Duell, T. C. Pomeroy, F. D. Wright.

Clinton.—George L. Clark, L. W. Pierce, Nathan Lapham, Dr. F. Weaver, B. J. Weaver.

Columbia.—Wm. H. Seymour, Robt. G. Mitchell. Hudson.—1st Ward—A. P. Cook, Hermann Esselstyne, Jacob W. Hoysradt, J. Stanton Gould, Hiram Morrison. 2d Ward—Robert A. Barnard, John

S. Ray, John C. Hogeboom, David Rainey, Samuel R. Rainey. 3d Ward—Robert McKinstry, Joel T. Simpson, John C. Newkirk, Thos. J. Best, George Waring. 4th Ward—Abraham F. Miller, John Welch, James N. Townsend, Henry House, Robert F. Groat.

Delaware.—Edward Van Dyck, E. Fero.

Dutchess.—Charles H. Ruggles, John Thomson, Samuel J. Farnum, James Mackin, James Emott, Philip H. Lasher, Ludwig Elstein, Elias Titus, Benson J. Lossing, F. A. Utter, Otis Bisbee, H. G. Eastman, Edward N. Crosby, G. C. Burnap, Geo. Wilkinson, C. A. Van Valkenburg, Isaac Platt, J. D. W. Whittemore, Henry W. Tibballs, James Van Lerven, George A. Shufdot.

Erie.—E. G. Spaulding, E. S. Prosser, G. W. Clinton, H. W. Rogers, Rufus Wheeler, Isaac Holloway, James M. Smith, Geo. R. Babcock, John Wilkeson, F. A. Alberger, James H. Palmer, F. P. Stevens, Robert Mills, Isaac Wheeler, F. A. Georger, Capt. Levi Vallier, Jacob Bever, P. H. Bender, C. R. Durkee, A. J. Buckland, Joel Wheeler, Ira Barnard, E. G. Grey, Christian Schlink, Thos. Chester, Lt. J. E. Ransom, M. Mesmer. Galusha Parsons, Wm. Hambleton, East Hamburg. Orasmus Warren, Clarence. E. R. Hensler, Tonawanda. Joseph Plumb, Collins. John Peterson, Alexander Brush, Henry B. Miller, Henry H. Clapp, Col. Wm. F. Rogers, G. A. Scroggs, Joseph Candee, Geo. E. Hayes, E. C. Sprague, A. D. Williams, Wm. F. Miller, Henry Tanner, John M. Gilbert, E. Madden, C. A. Van Slyck, Henry Clinton, Wm. R. Allen, J. J. Weller, P. J. Heimlich, W. J. A. Meyer, N. Hagerman, James Adams, Isaac Schermerhorn, Geo. Urban, E. Storck, Capt. Daniel Myers, Capt. A. M. Adams, Capt. A. M. Wheeler, J. C. Dann, J. B. Dick, Aurora. J. B. Youngs, Amherst. C. B. Rich, Newstead. C. Emmons, Concord. Johnson Parsons, Lancaster. Wm. H. Moor, Gilbert Candee, Capt. R. P. Gardner, J. N. Larned, M. Rice.

Fulton and Hamilton.—B. T. Siminons, D. Stewart, R. Getman, Joseph McDermod, James M. Dudley, Horace E. Smith, William J. Heacock, Alanson Judson, Seymour Sexton, Rev. Isaac Parks, Allen C. Churchill, M. Wade.

Genesee.—Robert Foot, Capt. Crowen, G. W. Terry, Solomon Lusk Sidney U. Main, L. Green, Theodore Cumming, John Fisher, William W. Gould, Seth Wakeman, Horace U. Soper, William S. Mallory, Samuel C. Holden, Daniel D. Waite, Jerome A. Clark, M. M. Hewitt, George Bowen, Harry Wilbur, Henry Monell, Eli H. Fish, Chester E. Olcott, John F. Plato, Charles Henshaw, Ferdinand H. Hull, George B. Kemp, William Tyrrell.

Herkimer.—John H. Wooster, A. H. Laffin, A. R. Thomson, Newell Morey, R. W. Payne, R. H. Pomeroy, Lawrence L. Merry, P. Remington, H. B. Jennings, F. C. Shepard, Wm. J. Lewis, J. Chismare, J. M. Burlick, P. Osgood, E. Owen, C. Johnson, W. H. Dixon, Josiah Shull, E. Roach, John Stilwell, N. Hines, S. P. Coe, T. Payne, E. W. Partridge, Dr. Valentine, J. H. Beebe, B. B. Moon, M. Moore, E. G. Seavey, D. Terry, S. R. Millington, Solomon Graves, P. D. Bellinger, G. A. Russell, F. G. Creamer, N. M. Moon, S. M. Richmond, O. Ladue, J. R. Stebbins, Wm. M. Dorr, G. A. Hardin, James Hart, Lester Green, Nicholas Staring, David Barton, James M. Hulser, Robert Etheridge, Jonas Zoller, W. H. Tisdell, John Hulser, J. M. Pierson, Jacob Dygert, William Gates, William Steele, Richard Davis, Ezra Graves, James Small, C. A. Moon, V. Owen, Charles Johnson, Wallace Bullock, D. O. Wendover, H. H. Lewis, E. M. Batchelder, C. P. Washburn, Zenas Greene, E. C. Pinny, James A. Suiter, John Hortman, B. W. Howe, A. R. Snell, S. V. Main, G. W. Cond, B. Polsin, H. Farrington, S. E. Brown, M. Shofur, W. Chisstin, Nicholas Christman, Mark Batchelder, G. T. Woodin, William Benchley, W. B. Maben, W. F. Harvey, J. G. Burrill, Levi Nellis, Nathan Metcalf, Harvey Huyck, Nathan Easterbook, Alfred Snell, Peter Wetherstine, B. F. Lane, P. Eaton, John D. Wetherstine, John C. White, E. J. Graves, Moses C. Holden, Jr., Orville Tupper, George Stimpson, J. D. Mack, Christian Wayman, William Hortman.

Jefferson.—James A. Bell, Beman Brockway, James K. Bates, Levi Miller, Henry Peck, A. C. Moffat, George Webb, George W. Fox, Jesse Babcock, William L. Huntington, Perley Ainsworth, Luther Barrows, M. Wilkinson, C. Littlefield, V. S. Hubbard, Sidney Cooper, L. Palmer, Solon Hungerford, Luther Barrows, Geo. W. Bond, Nathan Strong, Geo. Bab-bitt, C. A. Benjamin, G. M. Hopkinson, J. M. Ackley, Geo. Hazelton, E. S. Lansing, R. Gallagher, H. B. Keene, Sylvester Kellogg, W. V. V. Rosa, W. P. Peck, G. S. Sawens, Wm. Estes, L. D. Davidson, Waterman Johnson, Geo. Webb, P. S. Thompson, Wm. Dewey, O. Sawtelle, Henry Essylstine, A. W. Peck, C. W. Burdick, Jerome Bushnell, Romos Wells.

Kings.—J. O. Nodyne, John McDermott, William Julian, Jr., Cheney Parker, Demas Strong, George B. Lincoln, Alfred M. Wood, John Williams, Paul J. Fish, George H. Roberts, S. D. Clark, A. N. Bliss, John N. Stearns, Stephen Clark, Elisha Whitlock, Edgar M'Mullen. Brooklyn Union League, Sylvester M. Beard, Sylvester C. Beard.

Lewis.—H. A. Phillips, C. H. Curtis, John O'Donnall, C. E. Stephens, C. A. Foster, A. H. Buck, C. F. Willard, John Doig, Z. Knox, John Benedict, M. M. Smith, J. B. Phillips, D. C. West, J. L. Leonard, J. C. Duff.

Livingston.—R. F. Hicks, Jacob A. Mead, Loren Cay, George S. Whit-

ney, J. A. Brodhead, Col. R. Sleeper, Albert Page, Isaac L. Endress, J. W. Stanley, James C. Jackson, R. F. Jackson, John Wiley, H. Dyer, G. C. Marvin, M. O. Austin, G. A. Pearce, W. H. Kelsey, Jedediah Horsford, A. Northrup, W. S. Coffin.

Madison.—Gerrit Smith, W. H. Brand, D. W. Cameron, Jos. Nichols, G. L. Rouse, F. A. Crandall, T. B. Bishop, B. T. Clark, Hon. Charles Mason, George F. Burn, J. M. Gray, L. Casler, W. G. Manchester, E. D. Van Slyck, W. C. Russell, General B. F. Bruce, Ralph Havery, A. B. Brush, Dr. A. G. Purdy, Jno. M. Messenger, James A. Bennett, Theop. F. Hand, J. E. Ostrander, A. D. Kennedy, R. Oulds, S. O. Travis, G. T. Kertland, Earl Chapin, Thomas T. Loomis, J. E. Ferry, John Crawford, Thomas N. Jones, Perkins Clark, Samuel Breese, John Reese, George W. Ellinwood Jos. Mason.

Monroe.—H. N. Beach, George D. Brown, John R. Garretsee, George W. Rawson, John Van Voorhees, Jr., C. D. Tracy, E. F. Enos, Adolphus Morse, Lyman M. Newton, W. W. Hegeman, Alonzo Chapman.

Montgomery.—Andrew Gilchrist, John C. Smith, Harvey Dunkel, George Smith, William Clark, A. Diefendorf, J. W. Cronkhite, Ab. Walrath, D. C. Cox, Charles Webster, Lewis Berthoud, Jacob Wendell, Harvey Miller, Major Hackney, A. H. Ayres, Uriah Potter, A. Carey, John Q. Congdon, James Edwards, Robert Van Epps, Rev. Dr. Nott, D. V. Berry, J. I. Buckbee, George C. Simpson, Jacob Sneek, M. Quinby, H. Shaffer, S. Smith, Barzillai McNeil, J. C. Nellis, M. Klock, A. Beekman, M. Countryman, Enoch Snell.

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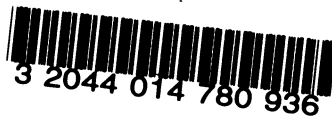
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